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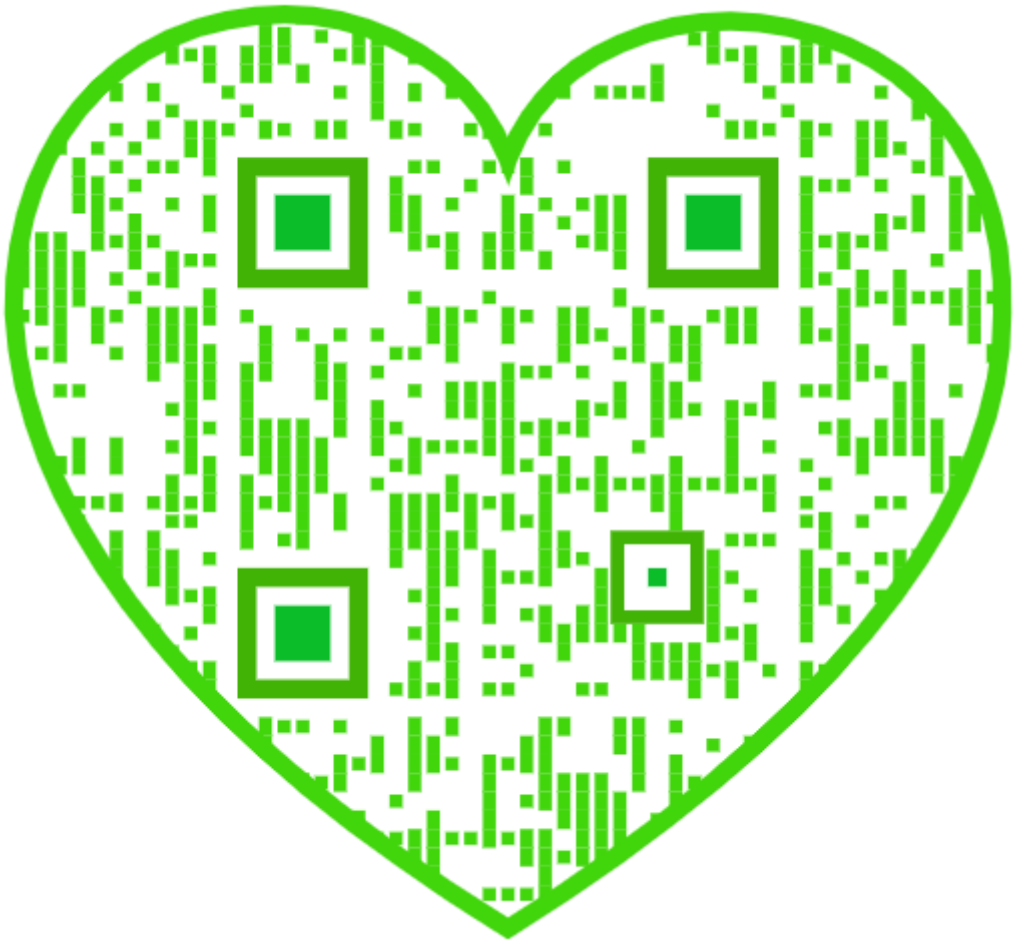

AMERICAN JOURNALISM

WINTER-SPRING 1993

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FROM THE EDITOR •

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY continues to represent a watershed in the history of journalism, as in the history of so many other American institutions. Looking backwards from the mid-nineteenth century, we see a world of commercial news, strong opinions, cheap and simple printing presses, and an emerging sphere of public debate struggling to free itself from the class, racial, and gender prejudices of its founders. Looking forward we see an institution more familiar and contemporary—more open to some forms of difference, more rational, and more closely managed, continually worked over by new technologies, and—in the end, perhaps—less palpably democratic.

The articles in this issue help explain how we got from there to here. Richard Kaplan and Jeffrey Rutenbeck revisit the much-discussed shift from views to news that occurred in American newspapers after the Civil War. They argue that even as political parties were changing, political affiliation persisted as a marketing strategy, a way to garner support from both sponsors and some readers.

William Solomon and Dennis Gildea demonstrate how the mass-audience, commercial daily newspaper created its own forms of status politics, both within and without the newsroom. Solomon shows how copy desk workers found their work as editors increasingly deskilled and devalued as newsroom operations grew more complex. Gildea shows how even a simple sports story in an urban newspaper could speak to the bitter ethnic rivalries of readers.

Finally, Jon Bekken and John Ferre remind us that the transformation of American journalism aroused constant criticism. Bekken recounts the sad tale of socialists' short-lived attempts to fund a daily newspaper that would support the rights of working people and counter the power of the commercial dailies. Ferre tells the story, equally sad in its own way, of Protestant ministers' rearguard battle against the Sunday newspaper and the corrupt forces of modernity that it had come to represent. Those ministers understood that, on this side of the watershed, there would be no turning back.

– J.P.

RESEARCH NOTES

FOUR THEORIES: A BRIEF HISTORY OF ITS ORIGINS

IN RECENT YEARS, several people have asked how *Four Theories of the Press* came to be written. My answer has always been, "Casually. Very casually." That is true as far as it goes, but there is much more to it than that.

Four Theories, of which I was co-author with the late Fredrick Siebert and the late Wilbur Schramm, was published near the end of 1956 by the University of Illinois Press. A few weeks later the Press brought out my *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*. Working sporadically, we wrote *Four Theories* over one summer, and the Press brought it out just a few months after we delivered the manuscript. I spent about five years off and on researching and writing the magazine book, which took most of another year to move from script to print. After my experience with those two books, I have always felt that *Four Theories* was put together casually.

Siebert did, too. He said as much in a conversation with Richard Schwarzlose that *Journalism History* published in its Winter 1978–79 issue. Much of their talk was about Siebert's *Freedom of the Press in England 1476–1776* (which itself was some two decades in the making); but some was about *Four Theories*, and Siebert's recollections coincided with mine on most major points.

Four Theories was Schramm's idea, but it was based on a seminar in government and the press that Siebert had been teaching. Schramm suggested that Siebert write a book based on the four theories that he dealt with as part of the course. But because he was busy, Siebert did not want to write the book alone, although later he wondered if he shouldn't have. To Schwarzlose, he recalled telling Schramm, "I'll do two parts of it and get Peterson to do one part, and you do the other, Schramm. That's how we did it."

I first heard about the proposed book one afternoon when I stopped to use the drinking fountain outside Siebert's office. Schramm came up and asked if I would be interested in helping to write a book, which he outlined in a few sentences. He had some grant money from the National Council of Churches left over from support for his *Responsibility in Mass Communication*, and he was sure he could pay Siebert and me $250 for each of our chapters. I was interested.

We met only once to discuss the book. The meeting could not have lasted more than an hour, for Siebert had small patience with long meetings. We first disposed of the foreordained—who would write what. Siebert was obviously the one to write about the authoritarian and libertarian theories because he had dealt with them in his book and his seminar, although I privately wished for a chance at libertarian theory, as it was the one I knew best. Schramm was the logical one to write about Soviet communist theory. He was then keenly interested in Russia; during the Korean War, which was not long past, he had (I believe) done some psychological warfare work for the United States government. That left social responsibility theory for me. To my chagrin, we spent virtually no time discussing just what it was or how I should approach it.

What we did discuss was a title for the book. We considered calling it *The Four Theories of the Press*. However, that initial "The," Schramm observed, implicitly denied the possibility of other theories, so we dropped it. And were there really four theories? After all, the authoritarian and Soviet theories had elements in common, and one could plausibly argue that the social responsibility theory was a modification of traditional libertarian

theory. However, we concluded there were enough differences among the theories to justify the "four." As a final and purely practical matter, Siebert said that although he would accept the $250 for each of his two chapters, he would insist that any royalties be divided equally among us. They have been, although they made none of us wealthy; my share came to $184 in 1990, for instance, and to an atypical $57.19 in 1992.

Later Siebert talked with Schramm about the order in which our names would appear as authors. With more generosity than good sense, Siebert wanted my name to come first so that it would appear in all bibliographical references, which often would drop the other two. He explained that as a young man early in my career, I could use the recognition, whereas he and Schramm did not really need it. Logic prevailed but not without some generosity on Schramm's part. Siebert's name came first because he had contributed two chapters, then mine, then Schramm's.

We left that meeting with the understanding there there would not be another, that each of us would work entirely on his own. Schramm did prepare a single-spaced, thirty-seven-line typescript sheet headed, "These questions (and probably others) should be answerable from each of our chapters." Subheads covered such topics as the "philosophical roots," "history," "workings," "differences," and "sources." Under each subhead, the sheet raised anywhere from one to eleven questions we should answer. For example, under "workings," it asked such questions as, "Who owns the media? How are they supported? Who has the right to use the media? Does practice here agree with theory?" That was our only guide.

When the chapters were finished and mimeographed, we did share them with each other, but I am sure that none of us commented on the others' chapters. I do remember that at some stage Siebert relied on Eleanor Blum, our communications librarian, to seek out the complete citations that he could not readily put his hand on for some passages. And at some stage, I edited his chapters at his request.

Fortunately for me as junior partner, I had moved into some well-experienced company. Siebert had experience as a newspaper reporter and copyreader before earning his law degree from Illinois in 1929, whereafter he joined the journalism faculty and in 1941 became director of the school. He had written an early press law textbook that came out in 1934 and that drew on his deep interest in the long struggle for press freedom in England. That book was significantly called *The Rights and Privileges of the Press;* its opening words were his creed: "The Press in a democracy knows only one duty—to furnish the public with adequate and accurate information." Schramm had had an awesome career. He had come to Illinois in 1947 from the University of Iowa, where he had directed the school of journalism, edited a literary magazine, and helped set up the Iowa Writers Workshop. He had written short stories for the *Saturday Evening Post* and fireside chats for President Franklin Roosevelt. During World War II and after, he had been a consultant to the army, navy, air force, and state department and had been director of educational services for the Office of War Information. At Illinois he created the interdisciplinary communications research institute and communications doctoral program. He was also active in laying what some observers see as the foundation for National Public Radio and the Public Broadcasting Service.

Siebert, who became my close friend and mentor, hired me in 1948 from Kansas State, where I had spent three years after service in World War II—two as editorial assistant to President Milton Eisenhower and head of the news bureau, one as a journalism teacher. I came to Illinois as a full-time journalism instructor who hesitantly decided to enroll in the infant doctoral program a course at a time. Siebert and Schramm had been my teachers, and

both were on my doctoral committee, Siebert as chairman. From time to time, Schramm had given me research assignments (probably to augment my salary, for each seemed to carry a two hundred dollar fee), and I had worked with him on other things. The year before *Four Theories* came along, I had received my doctorate and become associate professor.

In the Schwarzlose interview, Siebert explained that the social responsibility chapter differed from the others in its normative cast because research to draw on was scant. He was correct, as I learned when I prepared to write it. However, talk about press responsibility was very much in the air in those postwar years. In England, the Royal Commission on the Press in 1949 had brought out its report, which ultimately led to the creation of the national press council there, and at home publishers had brought out a shelfful of books about media performance and obligations. To me, the 1947 report of the so-called Hutchins Committee, *A Free and Responsible Press*, and the several books growing out of it, seemed the works most consonant with the changes in life and thought since classical libertarian theory had come under attack and its assumptions been challenged. Despite its somewhat collectivist bent, the Hutchins report seemed worth examining for its recommendations for press responsibility in a free society. I had used the report in my classes, and as a student and teacher I had been especially impressed by books by two of the commission members, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., and William Ernest Hocking. For good or ill, my chapter was largely an exegesis of the report with a bit of historical background thrown in.

Four Theories appeared first as a hardbound book, which won the Kappa Tau Alpha Research Award in 1957. A Japanese-language edition appeared in 1959; and since then the book has been translated into several other languages, in whole or part, most recently in an Indonesian version. In October 1963, it went into a paperback edition, which resulted in a flock of new reviews. The University of Illinois Press counts it among its all-time best sellers, and during each year it still sells more copies than most new books that the press published that year. It is widely used in undergraduate classes, and it has been the springboard for several dissertations. All of that would have astonished Siebert and Schramm, as it has me.

None of us ever had the time or inclination to revise the text from the first printing despite several urgings that we do so. Schramm left for Stanford in 1955, even before the book was published, and Siebert left for Michigan State in 1957. Thereafter all of us had other interests, other concerns. For my part, I have long thought the book was a lucky product of circumstance, and I have often been a bit uneasy that a book so casually produced should have lived so long and traveled so far.

... Theodore Peterson
Univ. of Illinois (emer.)

SUNDAY NEWSPAPERS AND THE DECLINE OF PROTESTANT AUTHORITY IN THE UNITED STATES

John P. Ferre

LIKE PRESS CRITICS IN GENERAL, Protestant ministers at the turn of the century faulted greedy and prurient journalists for producing sensational newspapers that caused immorality and crime.[1] But when newspapers, which published the details of grisly crimes and salacious gossip during the week, were bloated for Sunday consumption, conservative Protestants watched in horror as the earthly city invaded the City of God. Sunday newspapers polluted the Sabbath, a day formerly shielded from commerce, and helped to transform the Puritan Sunday into the secular weekend. Although Protestantism took credit for creating ritual alternatives to work, less and less could it dictate the alternatives to work that Americans would choose. The day that had been reserved for church activities steadily became commercial, and conservative Protestants placed the blame squarely on the press.

Joseph Pulitzer's boast that his *New York World* "addressed more people each Sunday morning than all the ministers in the state of New York combined" and a consumer's observation that "the average Sunday paper is more entertaining and instructive than the average Sunday sermon" confirmed the deepest Protestant fears.[2] Commerce, through the production, distribution, and consumption of newspapers, was replacing the church as the seat of authority in the United States. Perceiving Sunday newspapers as an immediate cause of the diminishing power of the Protestant pulpit, pietist ministers united to fight the "Sunday debauch in flamboyant color."[3]

1. John P. Ferre, "The Dubious Heritage of Media Ethics: Cause-and-Effect Criticism in the 1890s," *American Journalism* 5 (Fall 1988), 191–203.
2. William A. Hachten, "The Metropolitan Sunday Newspaper in the United States: A Study of Trends in Content and Practices" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1960), 59; "The Sunday Newspaper," *New York Times*, 20 July 1902, 8.
3. "Comic Supplements a Source of Evil," *New York Times*, 27 January 1911, 5.

John P. Ferre is an associate professor of communication at the University of Louisville. This article is a revised version of a paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association in Chicago in 1991.

Although ubiquitous for fifty years, Protestant criticisms of Sunday newspapers have been dimly understood and narrowly interpreted. Progressive histories dismissed turn-of-the-century religious opposition as a philistine hindrance to the natural development of the newspaper. Alfred McClung Lee, for example, complained that religious critics lacked "perspective on cultural evolution": "They fondly think that human behavior patterns may be molded quite easily by anyone with a *logical* case, particularly a case based upon 'unchanging' moral premises. . . . Successful 'reformers' in the newspaper industry . . . have been called 'immoral' because they stimulated *adjustments* in folkways and mores."[4] Similarly, the few recent histories that pay more than passing attention to religion typically ignore the wider social context from which religious criticism emerged. Even Hazel Dicken-Garcia's celebrated account of nineteenth-century press criticism explains religious perspectives simply as moralism in awe of the press.[5] These histories consistently disregard the accuracy with which Protestant critics at the turn of the century perceived the rise of Sunday newspapers as a sign of Protestantism's diminishing authority over the American polity.

Although Sunday publishing in the United States began with a broadside in Norwich, Connecticut that reported the battles of Lexington and Concord, Sunday publishing was not at all routine until the era of the penny press. Even then it was tenuous. The *Boston Globe*'s Sunday edition lasted for only the first five and a half months of 1833. The survival of the *New York Sunday Morning News* from 1835 until 1842 was an anomaly. Only four daily newspapers regularly issued Sunday editions before the Civil War.[6]

Proscriptions against Sunday communications began to erode when Congress authorized Sunday mail delivery by passing the Post Office Act of 1810. Although Congress refused to rescind the act, despite a twenty-year onslaught of petitions from across the country, the Post Office Act of 1810 was hardly the linchpin of Sunday desecration that many people feared. Antebellum merchants and manufacturers were satisfied with devoting the day exclusively to religious activity. The weight of tradition and the prevalence of blue laws enabled conservative Protestants to keep Sunday publishing at a minimum for more than half of the nineteenth century.

It was the Civil War that stimulated Sunday newspapers to begin their climb to predominance. The demand for continuous war news and casualty lists led many newspapers, like the

4. Alfred McClung Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), 399.
5. Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 125.
6. Hachten, "Metropolitan Sunday Newspaper," 14–21.

New York Times, to add a Sunday edition during this period. After the war, a number of papers suspended either their Sunday editions or, as was more typical in the South, their Monday editions. But many others continued or considered adding a Sunday edition because the market was there. Four years of wartime news were enough to accustom readers and advertisers to having newspapers seven days a week.

The supply and demand for Sunday newspapers increased through the rest of the nineteenth century. The influx of Catholic immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who started Sunday with church but spent the rest of the day in recreation and relaxation eagerly bought newspapers seven days a week. Department stores, in response, filled Sunday editions with advertisements, which accounted for 55 percent of newspaper income in 1900.[7] Furthermore, Sunday mails and trains helped disseminate Sunday newspapers into the countryside. By 1870 nearly fifty daily newspapers issued a Sunday edition. This number more than doubled by 1880. By 1889, 257 newspapers issued a Sunday edition and, at least in New York, Sunday newspaper readers outnumbered daily readers for the first time. In 1904, 456 daily papers produced Sunday editions; by 1909, there were nearly five hundred Sunday editions. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Sunday editions of daily newspapers had become fixtures.[8]

The growing popularity of Sunday newspapers was part of a larger liberalization of Sabbath pastimes after the Civil War. Ironically, this liberalization was caused in large measure by Protestant Progressives. Liberal temperance reformers, searching for substitutes for alcohol and other vices in which laborers and their families indulged, advocated the Sunday opening of libraries, lyceums, and museums. Following the lead of libraries in Milwaukee and St. Louis, cities with large immigrant populations, the Boston Public Library began Sunday hours in 1873. These changes, aided by new forms of transportation such as the streetcar and the automobile, led to such fondness for Sunday excursions that by the turn of the century relatively few Protestant churches still scheduled afternoon services.[9]

Although Protestants as a whole opposed Sunday commercialism, they disagreed among themselves over what types of recreation would preserve Sunday as a day of rest. Pietists — Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and some Congregationalists—insisted that Sunday be devoted exclusively to religious activities and that travel, labor, and secular amusement be pro-

7. Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic, 1978), 93.
8. Hachten, "Metropolitan Sunday Newspaper," 29, 349.
9. John S. Gilkeson, Jr., "The Rise and Decline of the 'Puritan Sunday' in Providence, Rhode Island, 1810–1926," *New England Quarterly* 59 (March 1986): 78–80.

hibited. To shore up their disintegrating authority, these Protestants sought an alliance with merchants opposed to Sunday opening and laborers opposed to Sunday work. They fought the traffickers of Sunday trade on the one hand and Protestant progressivists on the other—the Unitarians, Universalists, and Episcopalians who believed that Sunday could accommodate both worship and secular recreation.[10]

Roman Catholics were among those religious groups that scheduled Sunday morning services, freeing the rest of the day for recreation. Few Catholics opposed Sunday newspapers as such; except in Maryland, where Catholics had accommodated Puritan Sabbath customs since colonial times, Catholics had no tradition of the Puritan Sunday.[11] Mostly, Catholics criticized sensationalism in newspapers and disregarded the day of publication. The *Catholic Citizen* of Milwaukee published this jingle describing what the Sunday newspaper buyer got:

> Sixty-nine pages of rubbish.
> Twenty-two pages of rot.
> Forty-six pages of scandal vile
> Served to us piping hot.
>
> Seventeen hundred pictures—
> Death, disease, and despair—
> Lies and fakes and fakes and lies
> Stuck in most everywhere.
>
> Thirty-four comic pages
> Printed in reds, greens, and blues;
> Thousands of items we don't care to read.
> But only two columns of news.[12]

James Cardinal Gibbons, the archbishop of Baltimore, was a notable exception, a Roman Catholic on whom Protestants could rely to make their protests against the Sunday press seem ecumenical. Gibbons echoed Protestant concerns when he complained of the thoroughgoing materialism of the American businessman:

> On Sunday morning, as he is debarred by the conventionalities of society from going to his place of business, he seizes the morning paper and devours its contents, of twenty or thirty pages, its news of stocks and bonds, of pleasures and amusements, or crime and scandal, until his whole being is saturated with this unwholesome diet. And then, like animals gorged with food, he spends the morning in a comatose condition . . . without once entering the

10. Gilkeson, "Rise and Decline of 'Puritan Sunday,'" 81–82.
11. Winton U. Solberg, *Redeem the Time: The Puritan Sabbath in Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 94–99.
12. Quoted in "Too Much Sunday Paper," *Literary Digest*, 4 November 1916, 1177.

> House of his Heavenly Father or invoking His benediction.[13]

With a host of Protestant ministers and even two rabbis, Gibbons signed a petition in 1908 protesting Frank Munsey's announcement that the *Baltimore Evening News* would begin Sunday publication. The petition called Sunday newspapers "a wholly unnecessary disturbance of the character of the day" that seriously injured the public welfare.[14]

Both religious and secular critics of Sunday newspapers claimed that the comic supplements damaged the character of children. Parents who thought that the comics amused their children harmlessly were sadly mistaken, according to critics, who explained that children under seventeen years old, particularly if unsupervised by adults, learned bad taste, rudeness and disrespect for elders, and irreverence from the comics. "Parents do not sufficiently realize how impressionable a child's mind is," wrote Lalla Block Arnstein of Knoxville, Tennessee. "They are careless, nay indifferent, as to what a child reads, so long as it is amused, and the Comic Sheet Section feeds it with ideas and material which it would never think of otherwise."[15]

Partly because of their low quality of craftsmanship and partly because of their poor reproduction quality, comics were seen as corrupted vehicles of art that dampened the potential for aesthetic appreciation among children. Comics "destroy the child's taste for the beautiful and the artistic," wrote one critic, who suggested that newspapers replace comics with illustrated fairy tales.[16] A like-minded critic proposed that Sunday newspapers substitute educational photographs and reproductions of famous paintings for the inartistic comics.[17]

More than rendering children aesthetically insensible, however, the Sunday supplements were charged with moral degeneracy. Maud Summers, a children's storyteller from Cincinnati, said that they taught "children to laugh when boys throw water from an upper window upon an apple woman, or outwit an old and infirm man."[18] *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* elevated this concern to a scientific principle:

> It is a well-known biological and psychological law that the mimetic tendency of children is particularly strong in the domain of the reprehensible. To laugh at the discomfiture of an elder person to whom af-

13. James Cardinal Gibbons, *Discourses and Sermons for Every Sunday and the Principal Festivals of the Year* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1908), 440.
14. "Want Sunday Evening Rest," *New York Times*, 16 December 1908, 1.
15. Lalla Block Arnstein, "Protest Against the Comic Supplement," *New York Times*, 15 April 1911, 2.
16. "'Comics' for Children," *New York Times*, 19 March 1912, 10.
17. "Fight Comic Supplements," *New York Times*, 30 January 1912, 1.
18. "Woman Hit Out at Comic Supplements," *New York Times*, 10 September 1908, 5.

> fection is owing, to seek revenge by underhanded means, to betray guileless and trusting confidence, to be selfish, untruthful, brutal, and crafty, these are the qualities of the heroes of the comic supplements.[19]

Critics believed that children were particularly susceptible to the moral corrosiveness of Sunday comics. Lillian Wald, head of the Nurses' Settlement in New York, explained that children between the ages of five and twelve were most vulnerable to the venality of comics, especially comics that "stimulate the fun of disobedience, of tricks and practical jokes on elders, ridicule the unsophisticated, or depict mock heroism."[20]

Thus affected, children were in no state to benefit from Sunday education or worship. A Chicago minister described the symptoms of "Morbus-Sundaycus" this way:

> There is a feeling of lassitude on Lord's Day morning, a disposition to read the Sunday newspaper instead of the Bible. It affects the disposition to such an extent that nothing but the Katzenjammer Kids, or the adventures of Happy Hooligan, or the funny page, can excite mirth. Toward Bible-school time the patient will have temper and temperature so high that an invitation to attend Bible school will throw the victim into convulsions of excuses that would bring tears to the eyes of a graven image.[21]

Similarly, Percival Chubb of the Ethical Culture Society asked, "Is any child who has feasted on this coarse food in any mind to attend Sunday school or church? Is indulgence in this comic supplement habit calculated to induce the right kind of reaction after the services of the Sunday School or church?" Chubb argued that parents should provide their children with edifying children's magazines, not Sunday newspapers.[22]

Children were hardly the only people harmed by the Sunday press, according to critics. Ministers complained that Sunday newspapers forced printers and deliverers to work on Sunday. In his crusades during which he preached on the Ten Commandments, evangelist Dwight L. Moody blamed the trolley and the bicycle for promoting Sunday excursions and the Sunday newspaper for transforming the holy day into a mere holiday. Every Sunday, he said, two hundred thousand newsboys and countless railway workers broke the Sabbath in order to deliver newspapers. "The church of God is losing its power on account of so many people giving up the Sabbath, and using it to promote selfishness," Moody said.

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19. Herman Scheffauer, "The Comic Supplement," *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*, March 1902, 382.
20. "Comic Supplements Publicly Denounced," *New York Times*, 7 April 1911, 4.
21. J. H. O. Smith, quoted in Ernest Eugene Elliott, *How to Fill the Pews* (Cincinnati: Standard, 1917), 31–32.
22. "Comic Supplements a Source of Evil," *New York Times*, 27 January 1911, 5.

> Put the man in the scales that buys and reads Sunday papers. After reading them for two or three hours he might go and hear the best sermon in the world, but you couldn't preach anything into him. His mind is filled up with what he has read, and there is no room for thoughts of God. I believe that the archangel Gabriel himself could not make an impression on an audience that has its head full of such trash.[23]

Moody asked his audiences to vow publicly that they would shun Sunday newspapers and protest their publication. On Sunday, according to Moody, unnecessary secular work should cease so that families could devote the day to religious activity in church and at home.[24]

The Reverend J. W. Pritchard used a slippery-slope version of this argument in a speech to the Brooklyn Temperance League in 1894. Allowing typesetters and newsdealers to work on Sunday weakened the enforceability of all blue laws, he said, including those that kept bars closed on Sunday. "The logical conclusion is that the saloon keeper, like the tobacco dealer, feels that he has a right to keep open on the Sabbath. Until we can shut down the Sunday printing press we may not hope to shut down the Sunday wine press," Pritchard said.[25]

Opposition to Sunday newspapers achieved wide circulation in the 1897 best seller *In His Steps*, one of a number of serial novels written by the Reverend Charles M. Sheldon to attract parishioners to vespers at Central Congregational Church in Topeka, Kansas. The very act of writing a novel for vespers with a cliff-hanger at the end of each chapter signified the competition between press and pulpit at the turn of the twentieth century. A sympathetic contemporary explained that the decline of religious observance on Sunday left ministers with two options: either cancel vespers altogether or stimulate attendance through special musical attractions and titillating sermon titles. "American preachers," he said, "are engaged in a desperate competition. To a man who wants to preach to full seats the first essential is to catch his congregation."[26]

In His Steps applied a simple formula for Christian discipleship to business, education, politics, medicine, and the arts, as well as to newspaper publishing. The novel envisioned newspapers without sensational and graphically violent stories and liquor and tobacco advertisements, newspapers with an ex-

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23. Dwight L. Moody, *Weighed and Wanting: Addresses on the Ten Commandments* (Chicago: Bible Institute Colportage Association, 1898), 58.
24. Moody, *Weighed and Wanting*, 46–62.
25. "'There is a Crisis Coming,'" *New York Times*, 5 March 1894, 9.
26. Frank Foxcroft, "The American Sunday Newspaper," *Living Age*, 2 November 1907, 263.
27. Charles M. Sheldon, *In His Steps* (Old Tappan, N.J.: Spire, 1897), 19–30.

panded Saturday edition that would last through the weekend so that they would neither be printed nor sold on Sunday.[27]

Fiction became reality when the publisher of the *Topeka Daily Capital* challenged Sheldon to edit the paper for one week according to the principles that *In His Steps* championed. Sheldon accepted, and the *Daily Capital*'s national publicity campaign caused its circulation to soar from a normal twelve thousand to an extraordinary 360,000. After Sheldon's stint as editor, however, the *Daily Capital* resumed its coverage of scandals, crimes, and brutal sports, its advertising of liquor, patent medicine, tobacco, and women's underwear, and its Sunday publication. Whatever the virtues of the Sheldon edition, it was dull, repetitive, and uninformative. Other than supplying the newspaper with a surfeit of profits, its chief effect locally was to increase the sales of competing newspapers to news-starved subscribers.[28]

Other than Sheldon, the most outspoken critic of Sunday newspapers was the Reverend David James Burrell, who taught homiletics at Princeton Theological Seminary, presided over the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States, and served as pastor of Marble Collegiate Church in New York City from 1891 until his death in 1926. (Norman Vincent Peale assumed the pastorate at Marble Collegiate six years later.) In his published sermons there, Burrell denounced the Sunday newspaper as the most insidious enemy of the Sabbath: "It is said that when burglars go prowling about at night they take with them a clever boy to climb over the transoms and open the door. The Sunday newspaper is the tuppenny door-opener for the larger forms of Sabbath desecrations."[29]

Burrell opposed Sunday newspapers primarily because they required work on the Sabbath. He claimed that "not less that 150,000 compositors and pressmen and others are kept at work seven days in the week, 365 days in the year."[30] Burrell was unsympathetic to the time-worn argument that the Sunday paper was produced on Saturday, that the Monday paper was the real enemy of the Sabbath. "If there were no Sunday issue, the preparation of the Monday number, excepting the telegraphic items, would fall on Saturday, and its publication on Monday morning," he said.[31] Moreover, selling newspapers on Sunday had far-reaching effects. "It is training up an army of lads for Sunday work," he said, encouraging them "to believe

28. Billie Barnes Jensen, "A Social Gospel Experiment in Newspaper Reform: Charles M. Sheldon and the *Topeka Daily Capital*," *Church History* 33 (1964): 74–83.

29. David James Burrell, *"For Christ's Crown" and Other Sermons* (New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham, 1896), 297.

30. Burrell, *"For Christ's Crown,"*300.

31. Burrell, *"For Christ's Crown,"*300–301.

32. David James Burrell, *The Gospel of Gladness* (New York: American Tract Society, 1892), 224.

that business may be properly transacted on the Sabbath."[32] Finally, merchants who advertised in Sunday newspapers were doing business on Sunday however tightly their doors were closed. Sunday newspapers were a charade of leisure that hid hour after hour of labor on the part of producer and consumer alike.[33]

Burrell also condemned the content of the Sunday paper, which he called "the common sewer of all our social life, the cesspool of all shames and scandals and unmentionable things."[34] To support this claim, Burrell presented his congregation with the following compendium of articles in one Sunday's *New York Herald, Journal, News, Press, Sun, Times, Tribune,* and *World*:[35]

	12	columns
	7	"
Murders and Assaults	24	"
Adulteries		
Thefts, etc.	43	
Total of crime	81	"
	44	"
Sporting	77	"
Theatrical	42	"
Gossip and Fashion	99	"
Sensational	8	"
Fiction		
Unclean Personals	351	
Total of gossip (mostly disreputable)	47	"
	113	"
Foreign News	92	"
Political News	39	"
Other Miscellaneous News	199	"
Editorial	24	"
Specials	3 1/4	"
Art and Literature		
Religious	517 1/4	
Total (chiefly) news and politics.	911 1/4	
Grand total		

Sunday labor and commerce combined with gossip and crime reports to devastate Sabbath home life, Burrell argued: "Time was when in Christian families the members gathered at the family altar to worship; and after that came the reading of good books and the religious press. There was room in those days

33. Burrell, *"For Christ's Crown,"* 303.
34. Burrell, *"For Christ's Crown,"* 300.
35. Compendium of articles in Burrell, *"For Christ's Crown,"* 298–99; quote from p. 302.

for missionary magazines; children found time to read their Sunday-school books."[35]

Now, though, the business and debauchery of the world, from which the Sabbath once offered respite, intruded continuously into the home, and for no sound reason.[36] Sunday extras may be necessary in wartime, Burrell said, "but not by the wildest stretch of the imagination can the Sunday newspaper be regarded as a work of either necessity or mercy in these piping times of peace."[37] Burrell rejected the argument that public demand made Sunday newspapers acceptable: "Men and women want opium and arsenic, but they are not permitted to purchase them at will."[38]

People were forsaking church attendance and devotional reading for the forbidden pleasures and poisons of Sunday newspapers, according to critics, because of immigrant laxity and native complacency. Between 1870 and 1920, immigration increased the percentage of Roman Catholics in the United States from 11 percent to 19 percent and the percentage of Jews increased from .3 percent to 3 percent.[39] Immigrants, according to the New York Sabbath Committee, were contemptuous of the Puritan Sunday, "finding our streets in the possession of newsboys who carry on a traffic in a manner more godless than their eyes and ears were accustomed to even in the worst capitals of the old world . . . [I]s it strange that our emigrant population should invade an American and a divine institution they do not understand and have no sympathy with...?"[40] The Committee blamed the Sabbath-breaking immigrants for corrupting American piety:

> But foreigners are not the only law violators. Americans, in large numbers are joining them in their effort to change our American Sabbath into a day of business and sport.
>
> Instead of Americanizing the foreigners, our

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36. For the first half of the twentieth century, the motivation to withdraw from news of the outside world prompted many Catholic seminaries to forbid their students to read daily newspapers. See Richard N. Ostling, *Secrecy in the Church: A Reporter's Case for the Christian's Right to Know* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 165.

37. Burrell, *"For Christ's Crown,"* 298.

38. David James Burrell, *The Golden Passional and Other Sermons* (New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham, 1897), 188.

39. Gerald Shaughnessy, *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith? A Study of Immigration and Catholic Growth in the United States, 1790–1920* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), 153–83; Herbert Friedenwald and H. G. Frieman, eds., *The American Jewish Year Book* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1913), 423–25; Marshall Sklare, *The Jew in American Society* (New York: Behrman, 1974), 101.

40. "The Sabbath as It Was and Is," in *First Five Years of the Sabbath Reform, 1857–62, with Twenty Documents of the New York Sabbath Committee* (New York: Edward O. Jenkins, 1862), 7.

41. "Foreign Influence," *Bulletin of the New York Sabbath Committee* 13 (December 1926-January 1927): 411.

adopted citizens are fast foreignizing our Americans. A sad feature of this situation is the fact that multitudes of our professing Christian people *don't care*.[41]

Because Sunday newspapers proliferated at the same time that the United States was absorbing huge numbers of immigrants into its cities, it was easy for Protestant sabbatarians to blame immigrants for apostasy. City life was indeed becoming increasingly secular, partly because of greater pluralism and partly because of rising literacy, which fostered intellectual independence and diversity.[42] The xenophobic sabbatarians ignored the fact that immigrants pored through Sunday newspapers and other printed matter in part to learn the language and the customs of their new home; it was enough for them that the new immigrants provided a large market for the daily and Sunday press. The concentration of Catholic, Jewish, and Eastern Orthodox immigrants with their different patterns of Sabbath observance provided ample evidence that the era of Protestant predominance was ending. But because Protestant pietists presumed that their customs had the weight of universal moral law, they would not suffer change easily.

Putting Sunday newspapers out of business involved more than individual resolve not to buy them. It called for collective action. "Let us unite and act," Burrell urged. "If I throw a thousand pounds of iron filings into the air, they will descend as gently as snow flakes; but if I weld them into a cannon ball, back it with a charge of powder, and fire it from a columbiad, I can sink a man-of-war with it. The people of the churches have illimitable power, if they choose to use it."[43] If the faithful in New York would boycott Sunday papers, refuse to advertise in them, and give preferential patronage to merchants who refused to advertise on Sunday, Sunday publishing would diminish across the nation. Burrell said, "We are strong enough to have our way in New York City; and New York pitches the tune for the other cities of the land."[44]

Burrell's prescription for fighting the Sunday press relied heavily upon *The Sabbath for Man* by the Reverend Wilbur F. Crafts, the authority most often cited by supporters of the Puritan Sunday. Crafts believed that the proliferation of the Sunday press was reversible. "A century ago it looked as if slavery had come into all Christian lands to stay, but it has ceased in them all, and certainly Sabbath-breaking is not more unconquerable," he said.[45] To conquer Sunday newspapers, Crafts advocated four strategies: endowments for newspapers to be

42. Kevin J. Christiano, *Religious Diversity and Social Change: American Cities, 1890–1906* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), xiv, 117, 154.
43. Burrell, *Golden Passional*, 195.
44. Burrell, *Golden Passional*, 196.
45. Wilbur F. Crafts, *The Sabbath for Man*, 6th ed. (New York: Baker and Taylor, 1892), 346.

operated according to the morality of conservative Protestantism, strikes for Sunday rest by newspaper workers, protests and boycotts by subscribers and advertisers, and strict enforcement of blue laws.[46] But no endowments were forthcoming, newspaper employees did not strike, and more and more Protestant consumers and merchants were willing to patronize Sunday newspapers. Opposition to the Sunday press was left to law enforcement and court action.

The organized effort to reinforce the Puritan Sunday began in 1857, when the New York Sabbath Committee convened the first of its seventy-five annual meetings. Some Protestants objected to the group's tactics to enforce strict Sunday observance through legal means. Ignoring the long history of Puritan Sunday enforcement, the Reverend William Cathcart, pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Philadelphia, asked, "Shall we force men into this worship, fine and imprison them for interfering with it, or, by persuasive love, seek to win their affection for the Lamb and their reverence for His day?"[47] Such pleading, however, failed to prevent Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Christian Reformed representatives from meeting in Washington, D.C., to form the American Sabbath Union (now the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States) in 1888. That meeting coincided with New Hampshire Republican Senator Henry W. Blair's introduction of a National Sunday-Rest Bill in Congress which would outlaw "any secular work, labor, or business" as well as "any play, game, or amusement, or recreation" on Sunday.[48] The Blair Bill died in committee.

In 1920 the Lord's Day Alliance attempted to resuscitate its campaign for stricter Sunday prohibitions, including prohibitions of Sunday newspapers. The Alliance called for local and state ordinances, and even contemplated a blue amendment to the Constitution.[49] The Alliance's call was answered in 1921 by the Southern Methodist Sabbath Crusade, which claimed to represent ten million citizens. This group drafted a National Sunday Law prohibiting all interstate commerce, including the shipment of newspapers, on Sunday. Its chairman, Nashville judge Noah W. Cooper, said, "Profiteering and bank robbery are not nearly so bad as stealing God's Sabbath to make money."[50] Before Tennessee Senator McKellar had a chance to refuse to introduce this bill in Congress, the International Re-

46. Crafts, *Sabbath for Man*, 346–49.
47. William Cathcart, *The Lord's Day Not the Sabbath of the Jews and Not to be Enforced by Civil Penalties* (Philadelphia: C. Shermon and Son, 1859), 20–21.
48. U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Sunday Rest Bill*, Hearing, 50th Cong., 2d sess., 13 December 1888, misc. doc. 43, 1.
49. "Federal Blue Law Is Alliance's Aim," *New York Times*, 25 November 1920, 32.
50. "Ask National Law for a Blue Sunday," *New York Times*, 14 July 1921, 2.
51. "Would Halt Trains and Mail on Sunday," *New York Times*, 29 November 1921, 17.

form Bureau and the Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals dissociated themselves from this proposal, saying that the bill was impractical.[51] Although some fundamentalist ministers denounced Sunday newspaper publishing as late as World War II, by the 1920s, Protestants could not even convince themselves, much less the wider society, of the desirousness of strict observance of the Puritan Sunday.[52]

More successful efforts to halt Sunday publishing were made through court actions. Protestants were especially encouraged by Supreme Court Justice David Brewer who, in the *Church of the Holy Trinity* v. *United States* (1892), cited blue laws in a list of social practices and proscriptions as evidence that "this is a Christian nation."[53]

One way that Protestants fought Sunday publishing through the courts was to withhold payment for advertisements in Sunday papers. The newspaper would sue and lose because contracts for services contrary to any law, including blue laws, were invalid. One of the earliest cases of this nature was *Smith* v. *Wilcox* (1855), in which New York Supreme Court Justice James Roosevelt said that "it would be difficult to contend that the reading of advertisements in a Sunday newspaper, or aiding a person to do so, is a work of either necessity or charity. The mind, certainly, on that day requires no such sustenance. . . . Six days, at all events, of such diet are enough. Thought perpetually running in one channel, like matrimony in one family, dwarfs the intellect."[54] The Supreme Court of Minnesota agreed in a ruling on a similar case in 1889, as did the Kansas City, Missouri Court of Appeals in 1911.[55] Shortly thereafter, however, state blue laws were amended to include Sunday newspapers as works of necessity, so this strategy began to fail in 1915, when the Supreme Court of Missouri ordered Henry J. McNichols to pay his bill for advertising in the Sunday *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.[56]

Protestants also used the more direct approach of applying blue laws directly to the newspaper industry, although these efforts were more irritating than successful. During the penny press era, boys selling the *New York Sunday Herald* were arrested for disorderly conduct. The *Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch* had to pay a four-dollar fine every week for violating blue laws.[57] This method was still used through the 1890s, although the courts were less forthcoming in their judgments by this time. In 1893, for instance, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania upheld the

52. Carl F. H. Henry, *Successful Church Publicity: A Guidebook for Christian Publicists* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1943), 106.
53. Church of the Holy Trinity v. United States, 143 U.S. 226 (1892).
54. Smith v. Wilcox, 19 Barbers 581 (1855).
55. Handy v. St. Paul Globe Publishing Co., 42 Northwestern 872 (1889); Publishers: Geo. Knapp and Co. v. Culbertson et al., 133 Southwestern 55 (1911).
56. Pulitzer Pub. Co. v. McNichols, 181 Southwestern 1 (1915).
57. Hachten, "Metropolitan Sunday Newspaper," 23.

conviction of eight Pittsburgh news agents including Thomas Matthews, who violated the Sunday Law of 1794 by selling the *Pittsburgh Sunday Leader*, but in its decision, the court noted that the Sunday newspaper was "part of the ordinary life of the people" and that the Sunday Law of 1794 was "in more danger from its friends than from its enemies."[58]

Ten years later, courts had ceased fining newspapers for publishing Sunday editions. In 1903, a Philadelphia judge dismissed cases against local newspapers and the Union News Company for violating blue laws.[59] A couple of cases were tried afterwards, but unsuccessfully. In 1931, the Supreme Court of Kansas held that distributing the Sunday *Kansas City Star* was necessary work, not a violation of Kansas blue laws: "From the small boy whose first thought on arising Sunday morning is the comic section, to the son grown older who turns eagerly to the sport page, the young daughter who peruses the society columns, and father and mother who turn their attention to more serious pages, the Sunday paper is looked upon and has grown to be a necessity."[60] As late as 1959, a municipal court in Columbus, Ohio, upheld the right of a drug store to sell magazines on Sunday. Judge Wilbur Shull wrote, "To some people newspapers and magazines are as necessary for the enjoyment of the day of rest as is food."[61]

Those who fought Sunday newspapers were engaged in a mammoth struggle. They were not fighting merely to maintain the various forms of Puritan piety, however important these forms were to them. More significantly, they were struggling against changing demographics and values, within both Protestantism and the broader culture. Their loss signifies less the hopelessness of their mission and more the fact that their focus was on the forms of commercial culture rather its causes.

Had Protestants in the late nineteenth century enjoyed the advantage of greater historical perspective, they would have understood, first, that they were battling the value of immediacy, first made possible on a large scale by the telegraph. It is no accident that regular Sunday papers emerged in the era of the penny press, which increasingly relied on telegraph bulletins. By the late nineteenth century, the desire for "today's news today" led not only to the burgeoning of evening newspapers, but of Sunday newspapers as well. The proposal for expanded Saturday editions to last until Monday was unacceptable in a

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58. Commonwealth v. Matthews, 25 Atlantic 548 (1893). Three months later, Charles W. Houston's seventy-five dollar fine for publishing the *Pittsburgh Press* on Sunday was upheld. Commonwealth v. Houston (Quart. Sess.) 14 Pa. Co. Ct. R. 395 (1893).

59. "Win Sunday Blue Law Case," *Editor and Publisher*, 4 April 1903, 2.

60. State v. Needham, 134 Kansas 155 (1931).

61. "Sunday Sale of Papers 'Necessity,'" *Editor and Publisher*, 14 November 1959, 73.

society accustomed to reading "today's news today" every day.

Equally important was the increasingly urban character of the population. By 1920, more people lived in metropolitan areas than on farms or in small towns. Cities were where the immigrants without the tradition of the Puritan Sunday settled, so it is understandable that Sunday papers would thrive where consumers desired inexpensive sources of pleasure and information to pass the hours on Sunday, which offered little work or affordable recreation. Cities, however cohesive their neighborhoods, were also impersonal. In small towns, community information and gossip could spread by word of mouth between Sunday services, but urban areas required an urban means of disseminating news, and this is what Sunday newspapers offered. Critics of Sunday newspapers longed for the return to a more homogeneous past when the country was agrarian and rural. By contrast, Sunday papers signified the increasingly metropolitan and technological character of the society. Sunday newspapers furnished individual readers with stories and relatively reliable intelligence about the cities in which they lived. In this sense, Sunday newspapers served a function similar to that of gatherings after church in small towns.

It was clear that this function was increasingly served in a secular context. In a sermon to his congregation at St. Mark's Episcopal Church in New York, the Reverend Joseph H. Rylanee said that it did not follow that "men and women not reading newspapers on Sunday would be in church. Very likely they would be doing something worse."[62] Similarly, the *Dial* in 1910 congratulated Frank Munsey for publishing an unusually slim Sunday edition of the *Boston Journal*, which would provide its readers with time to visit art galleries, museums, and public libraries. Apparently, the forces of secularism enabled the *Dial* to perceive Sunday newspapers as an alternative to the arts rather than to church.[63]

Besides the myriad of broad social changes taking place at the turn of the century, Protestants had to contend with their own continuous disunity. Although two-thirds of Americans in 1900 were Protestant, they were unable to suppress the Sunday paper partly because they were divided over the issue.[64] The Reverend John A. MacCollum of Philadelphia denounced the hypocrisy of the resolution passed in 1919 by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which had condemned Sunday newspapers: "I did a little detective work around the hotel yesterday, and I saw two former moderators, many of the

62. "A Sermon on Newspapers," *New York Times*, 22 February 1897, 4.
63. "Casual Comment," *Dial*, 1 June 1910, 382–83.
64. On the number of Protestants, see David B. Barrett, ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Study of Churches and Religions in the Modern World, AD 1900–2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 714.
65. "League Indorsed by Presbyterians," *New York Times*, 20 May 1919, 17.

secretaries of the board, and about half the Commissioners here reading Sunday papers. Many had them at the breakfast table. The Sunday paper is just as necessary as the Sunday trolley, which you attempted to condemn several years ago."[65]

Similarly, Presbyterian social gospel proponent Charles Stelzle complained of what he called "the tyranny of the pious Sunday in the lives of working people":

> A prominent preacher in New York City once "marveled" that God did not cause the Metropolitan Tower, with its fifty stories of steel and stone, to fall upon the "Sabbath breakers" in the park in Madison Square. If this gentle soul would have taken the time to study the tired and worn-out men and women who were sitting upon the benches in the park, trying to escape from their stuffy little quarters, he probably would have been more sympathetic in his expression. The depth of their depravity was reading such scraps of newspaper as they could borrow from one another.[66]

Pietists failed to convince progressivists that Sunday newspaper reading was not a form of rest, just as they had failed to convince progressivists to forgo historical criticism, scientific reasoning, and sociology. Disagreement over Sunday newspapers illustrated the irreconcilable differences in thought and practice between Protestant pietists and progressivists.

Increasingly, the divisiveness over Sunday publishing led to acquiescence; ministers gradually accepted the need for Sunday newspapers, but reserved the right to criticize their content. According to one minister early in World War I, "I have always been opposed to Sunday newspapers but I dare not now go into the pulpit realizing that perhaps the day or night before some big battle has begun or some change in the world situation has taken place and I would know nothing of it. So I have subscribed for the Sunday paper and I look over its chief news before I go into my pulpit."[67]

Similarly, a survey of ministers across the United States reported by the Men and Religion Forward Movement in 1912 asked, "Do the ministers and church members of your city at present oppose the Sunday newspaper?" Sixty-one replied "no," thirty-seven replied "yes." These responses led the canvassers to conclude that Sunday newspapers "should be urged to carry worthy materials and omit the abominations of the colored supplement, the outrageous gossip of social high life, and the

66. Charles Stelzle, *A Son of the Bowery: The Life Story of an East Side American* (New York: George H. Doran, 1926), 108.
67. Quoted in William Bernard Norton, *Church and Newspaper* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), 178.
68. Men and Religion Forward Movement, *The Church and the Press* (New York: Association, 1912), 137.

other well-known trivialities."[68]

William Bernard Norton, religion editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, noted that none of the 180 ministers and laypersons who wrote religious editorials for the *Tribune* objected to an editorial appearing in the Sunday edition. Indeed, an earlier critic who had called the Sunday religious column "a crowning stroke of diplomacy" that co-opted ministers into promoting Sunday newspaper circulation had been correct.[69] Norton said that ministers asked that stories regarding them appear in a Sunday edition because of its greater circulation.[70]

As Protestant ministers accepted the Sunday newspaper as a fact of life, they began to turn their attention to public relations. In his widely read book, *Church Publicity: The Modern Way to Compel Them to Come In*, Christian F. Reisner reported that a canvass of religious leaders found that they would endorse unanimously a Sunday supplement filled with religious material.[71] Having learned that the press was capable of defeating Protestants, at least on certain issues of religious observance, ministers accommodated to the press in order to further other aims. In 1920, Mrs. Louis J. Brooks, executive secretary of the St. Louis Board of Religious Organizations, said, "The conservative churchman should wake up to the opportunities offered by the daily press."[72] The negative attitude toward Sunday newspapers changed in part because the churches began to see newspapers as valuable vehicles of religious publicity. If newspapers were so powerful for evil, they could be as powerful for good.

Faced with formidable commercial interests on the one hand and weakened by Protestant accommodation on the other, sabbatarians abandoned their crusade against Sunday newspapers shortly after World War I. The crusade had lost momentum more than a decade before, however. That loss signified the extent to which decades of industrialization, immigration, and urbanization had weakened Protestantism's grip on social custom and thought in the United States. The lost crusade against Sunday newspapers represented the inability of Protestant pietists to commandeer these new social forces. The United States would less and less be a nation dominated by Protestant thought and customs. Instead, Protestant critics recognized that the increasingly pluralistic nation would be united more and more by its commercial pursuits and pastimes, of which Sunday newspapers were an integral feature.

69. Abram Herbert Lewis, *Swift Decadence of Sunday: What Next?* 2d rev. ed. (Plainfield, N.J.: American Sabbath Tract Society, 1900), 47.
70. Norton, *Church and Newspaper*, 6–7.
71. Christian F. Reisner, *Church Publicity: The Modern Way to Compel Them to Come In* (Boston: Pilgrim, 1913), 113.
72. "Press Church's Best Ad," *Editor and Publisher*, 16 October 1920, 32.

NEWSROOM MANAGERS AND WORKERS

The Specialization of Editing Work

William S. Solomon

As a rule, thoroughly competent printers have better judgment and more discriminating newspaper tact than editors manufactured out of collegiate graduates.

. . . I have known owners of journals to run from one end of the country to the other in a vain search for a competent Managing Editor, when little fellows setting type in their own offices were fully able and competent to get out just such newspapers as were wanted.

THESE WORDS WERE WRITTEN by Amos J. Cummings, city editor of the *New York Tribune*, in 1869.[1] They allude to a division of labor, and a consequent difference in status, that long has been present in United States journalism. This distinction between newsroom work and physical production reflects a cultural valuing of "mental labor" over physical labor.[2] As newspapers evolved, so did differences in tasks and status, within each category.

This study examines the evolution of newsroom work in the nineteenth century, within the contexts of social and economic change and of the political economy of newspapers. It addresses changes in tasks and status, of specific newsroom jobs, which accompanied changes in the division of newsroom labor. Its focus is the origins and development of the position of copy editor, which became the most anonymous and numerous of all editing jobs. It accounts for this work's transformation in the status from management to labor. Baldasty has documented the impact on newspaper content of post-Civil War newspa-

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1. Amos J. Cummings, "How Newspapers Are Made," *Packard's Monthly* 2 (January 1869): 21.

2. The concept of "mental labor" is developed in Guglielmo Carchedi, *Frontiers of Political Economy* (New York: Verso, 1991). Also see Nicos Poulantzas, *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism* (London: New Left Books, 1975), 251–70.

pers' intense emphasis on profits; this study examines the impact on newsroom labor, particularly that of editors.[3]

The colonial printer often combined craft skills with literary attainments, yet he still was seen as a "mechanic," someone who "had to work with his hands."[4] From roughly 1700 to 1828, journalism's "core activities" increasingly were defined as writing and editing, not printing.[5] Urbanization and the development of a market society in the Jacksonian era aided the growth of the commercial class of newspaper, of which the penny press was one example, more than that of the partisan press or the country weeklies.[6] The commercial papers treated journalism as primarily a business, rather than a public service. Their initial investors often hired an editor and contracted with a printer, as the political parties had done. These changes helped solidify the social and economic distinction between writer/editor and printer, reinforcing the prominence of the former over the latter. At the time of the penny press, editorial work "had recently been separated from printing, as the newspaper proprietor changed in status from craftsman to publisher."[7]

The separation of writing/editing from printing was followed by divisions of labor within each. For example, by 1843 the *New York Sun* "employed eight editors and reporters, 20 compositors, 16 pressmen, and 12 folders and counters."[8] New

3. Gerald J. Baldasty, "The Rise of News as a Commodity: Business Imperatives and the Press in the Nineteenth Century," in *Ruthless Criticism: New Perspectives in U.S. Communication History*, ed. William S. Solomon and Robert W. McChesney (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 98–121.

4. Stephen J. Botein, "'Meer Mechanics' and an Open Press: The Business and Political Strategies of Colonial American Printers," *Perspectives in American History* 9 (1975): 130–211.

5. Core activities are those that constitute the essence of a given form of work. Howard Becker discusses the concept in *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 16. The distinction between physical production and writing/editing was present in the revolutionary era, when some newspapers were edited by committees of correspondence. It became increasingly common after 1800. See Frank L. Mott, *American Journalism, A History, 1690–1960* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 162; Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764–1776* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), 60.

6. John C. Nerone, "The Mythology of the Penny Press," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4 (December 1987): 376–404.

7. Nerone, "Penny Press," 397. A trend toward industrialization in the first half of the nineteenth century led to specialization in the printing trade: "By midcentury, it had become rare for a printer in an urban center to edit a paper of his own." Stephen J. Botein, "Printers and the American Revolution," in *The Press and the American Revolution*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1980), 50, 52. Also see William J. Rorabaugh, *The Craft Apprentice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 76–78.

8. Frank M. O'Brien, *The Story of the Sun, 1833–1918* (New York: George H. Doran, 1918), 157. Around this time, the *New York Courier* had five editors and the *New York Herald* had thirteen editors and reporters. James L. Crouthamel, *James Watson Webb* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1969), 71; Willard G. Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1927), 201. The seeming emphasis on editors, rather than reporters, may be explained in terms of the relative importance that journalism assigned to

York newspapers were not necessarily typical of the rest of the country's experience.[9] But by the 1850s, increasing financial stability brought a growth in many newsroom staffs.[10] As newspapers developed a more formal system for gathering news, the position of city editor evolved. No longer called a "chief reporter," the city editor hired and directed the reporting staff. The penny press helped sharpen the distinction between reporter and editor.[11] The Mexican War and the Civil War supplied impetus for more systematic newsgathering, which the advent of the steamship, the railroad, and the telegraph helped make possible.[12] Newspapers added more correspondents, which, in time, meant more editors. The appearance of the position of managing editor signalled that more tasks, besides supervising the reporters, were being broken off from the editor's work: There was a need for "some one who will act as a link" between the editor and the various "subeditors."[13]

The appearance of the positions of city editor and managing editor suggests an increasing specialization and separation of managerial tasks. For example, by 1868 the *New York Tribune* had a managing editor, a city editor, a foreign editor, a night editor, an agricultural editor, a dramatic editor, and four editorial writers—in addition to thirty-two reporters and Horace Greeley.[14] By the time of the Civil War, as part of this increasing division of editing work, the "bundle of tasks" today associated with copy editing began to appear as a separate work position.[15] Reference to these tasks is made under several different titles: night editor, night city editor, and so forth. Amos Cummings described a *New York Tribune* editorial meeting as including a night editor, who in effect served as city editor during late night hours. But Cummings also mentioned another night editor:

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editorials, rather than news, at that time. Not until late in the century did Edwin L. Godkin, founder of the *Nation* and an editor of the *New York Evening Post*, note that "the newsgathering function . . . has become the most important one, and the critical function has relatively declined." In "Newspapers Here and Abroad," *North American Review* 150 (February 1890): 197–98.

9. Nerone, "Penny Press."

10. Alfred McClung Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), 614.

11. Nerone, "Penny Press," 397–98.

12. O'Brien, "Story of the Sun," 168, 188; William F. G. Shanks, "How We Get Our News," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 36 (March 1867): 511–22; William Henry Smith, "The Press as a News Gatherer," *Century* 42 (August 1891): 524–36.

13. O'Brien, "Story of the Sun," 262. The *New York Tribune* was first to have a managing editor, Charles A. Dana, who assumed this job in the mid-1850s, having been hired as city editor in 1847. See Bleyer, *Main Currents*, 225; O'Brien, "Story of the Sun," 263; Mott, *American Journalism*, 270.

14. Amos J. Cummings, "How Newspapers Are Made: The New York Tribune," *Packard's Monthly* 1 (November 1868): 105–7.

15. The term is from Everett C. Hughes, *The Sociological Eye* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1984 [1971]), 292, 313.

> At the desk near the door we find Dr. John B. Wood, the Night Editor, through whose hands passes all the telegraph and news matter. . . . The Doctor prides himself as a thorough grammarian, and his brilliant feats with the blue pencil have frequently gashed long reports and letters to the consternation of their authors. . . . Every bit of copy is carefully revised in his hands, and from him goes up stairs to the compositors in ship-shape.[16]

This was the work that in time would be called "copy editing." Its appearance as a distinct work position marked the separation of "final editing" from other editing work. If the managing editor ran the newsroom and the city editor supervised the reporters, increasingly it was the case that another editor would edit the copy.[17] Apparently, whether the night editor also judged the exchange editor's work varied with the newspaper. William F. G. Shanks, city editor of the *New York Herald*, noted that in addition to the European editor and the exchanges editor, at "the larger [newspaper's] office," including that of the *Herald*, "the duty of editing the 'home correspondence' devolves upon another than the 'Exchange Editor,' no proper or distinctive title applying to him."[18] Similarly, the position of night editor was established at different newspapers at different times.[19]

At this point virtually all editing jobs, including that of the night editor, were considered to be managerial work. When Edward P. Mitchell, later an editor for the *New York Sun*, arrived in New York City in May 1875 for an interview at the *Sun*, he first watched the paper's newsroom from his hotel window. He mistook the night editor, John B. Wood, for the editor-in-chief, Charles A. Dana; indeed, the following scene suggests the status and authority of the night editor:

> At a desk . . . sat a vivacious gentleman whom the observer soon identified as the mainspring of activities. His eyes were protected by a huge visor of green pasteboard. . . . Every few minutes boys came up to him on the run, bringing sheaves of yellow paper. These manuscripts he seized and scrutinized from beneath his green binder, and disposed of them with a speed nigh incredible. To one batch he would

16. Cummings, "How Newspapers Are Made," 108–9.
17. For instance, during the Civil War a *New York Times* reporter "served as night editor . . . in the spring of 1864, and his vigilance prevented *The Times* from being deceived by a forged document." Elmer Davis, *History of the New York Times, 1851–1921* (New York: New York Times, 1921), 58.
18. Shanks, "How We Get Our News," 522.
19. In New York the *Tribune* and the *Times* had established this position by the late 1860s. But the *Sun* had not: "There were no night editors, for it had not been found necessary to establish a central desk where all the news of all the departments could be gathered together for judgment as to relative value." O'Brien, "Story of the Sun," 280–81.

> scarcely give a glance before tossing it contemptuously into the basket at his feet. Another batch he would subject to merciless mutilation . . . as his terrible blue pencil tore through the pages. . . . Surely, but one man could exercise this autocratic power of life or death upon the productions of his subordinates! "Has it been my luck," I asked myself, "to behold Mr. Dana at last, and in the thick of action?"[20]

With post-Civil War population growth and urbanization, the political economy of newspapers changed dramatically. From 1860 to 1899, the number of dailies increased from 387 to 2,226, and the larger dailies began to increase edition size.[21] Consequently the division of newsroom labor, which had created the position of night editor, in time caused further specialization and separation of this position's tasks. Judging all news stories' worth remained the work of the night editor or city editor, who also made changes in content, tone, and structure. Any remaining such changes, but primarily technical editing—correcting grammar, spelling, factual errors—and headline writing became the work of a separate editing position: the assistant of a senior editor, usually the city editor, the night city editor, or the night editor. With this change came the name of copy editor, or, at first, copy reader. One of the earliest such references is found in Julius Chambers's description of his experience as a novice reporter for the *New York Tribune* in the 1870s: "Facts; facts; nothing but facts. . . . The index of forbidden words was very lengthy, and misuse of them, when they escaped the keen eye of a copy-reader and got into print, was punishable by suspension without pay for a week, or immediate discharge."[22]

Since Chambers was describing his "merciless training" under the city editor, it is reasonable to conclude that these copy editors worked with the city editor. Similarly, an early journalism text said that "the copyreader works directly under the charge of the city editor. . . . He is, in fact, the assistant of the

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20. Edward P. Mitchell, *Memoirs of an Editor: Fifty Years of American Journalism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), 122, 124. Others have referred to Wood as the managing editor's "right-hand man in the news department" or as the "assistant to the managing editor." O'Brien,"Story of the Sun," 278; Charles J. Rosebault, *When Dana Was The Sun* (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1931), 168.

21. By 1900, about nine-tenths of all manufacturing was done within cities; during the 1880s, "as much as 40 percent of the population of rural townships seemed to disappear." Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 114. The newspaper statistics are given in Lee, *Daily Newspaper*, 718. Some newspapers were prosperous even at the start of the Gilded Age. In 1867 each of the New York dailies spent about $2,500 a week on telegraph news, "the *Tribune* and other papers having occasionally boasted of expending $10,000 in a single week for telegrams." Shanks, "How We Get Our News," 518.

22. Julius Chambers, *News Hunting on Three Continents* (London: John Lane, 1922), 7.

city editor and his office grew out of the overcrowding of that dignitary's duties. When a copyreader is added to the staff, he simply takes over a portion of the city editor's work—that of editing copy and writing headlines."[23] There is further support for this view equating the position of copy editor with that of the city editor's assistant. An 1891 trade magazine related that, to get a piece of copy trimmed, a night editor "sent it back to the desk man." Later the night editor "was in the city editor's room, and one of the desk men explained" how the story had been cut.[24] Clearly, the "desk men" worked in the city editor's room, and their work included carrying out news judgments made by more senior editors.

At the same time, there also are references to copy editing as being done by a "night desk." An 1891 report of the trial run of a new daily noted, "The city editor was giving way to the night city editor, and the night staff of copy readers were getting ready, with their long blue pencils, to go through the big piles of 'copy.'"[25] An 1892 report on the rare hiring of a woman reporter at the *Chicago Ledger* notes, "So clear was her copy, so correct her English . . . that she won golden praises from the night desk."[26] Likely, the division of editing tasks and titles varied with the newspaper. As a contemporary observer wrote, "It is difficult to name exactly the editorial and reportorial staff of a metropolitan journal, offices differing very much in that and every other respect. Each has a style and customs peculiar to itself."[27] This shifting of editing tasks and titles is suggested by the example of the *New York Sun*: John B. Wood, the night editor from 1869 to 1881, was termed "The Great American Condenser."[28] But later in the century, the function of the *Sun*'s night editor was "to make up the paper and to 'sit in' when the managing editors are absent."[29] By then, the news judgment part of final editing was done by the night city editor, Selah M. Clarke: "The city editor of a New York newspaper sows seeds; the night city editor re-seeds barren spots, waters wilting items, and cuts and bags the harvest."[30]

The term *copy reader* was common by late in the century. Discussing some reporters' attempts at humor, a trade journal noted

23. Grant M. Hyde, *Newspaper Editing*, 2d ed. (New York: D. Appleton, 1925), 25.
24. "Cut It Down," *Journalist* 13 (16 June 1891): 14.
25. "Just A Dress Rehearsal," *Journalist* 12 (21 February 1891): 12.
26. "How She Got on the Staff," *Journalist* 15 (27 August 1892): 14. Similarly, a report relates a newsroom story in which "the night editor gave a finishing flourish with his blue pencil." Richard Stillman Powell, "A Broken Pen," *Journalist* 13 (13 June 1891): 13. Another report notes that among staff changes at the *Boston Globe*, "Frank H. Stanyan has left the night desk for the city force." Thomas F. Anderson, "Boston," *Journalist* 12 (17 January 1891): 5.
27. R. P. Fleming, "Pointers for Printers, Copy Readers and Holders," *Journalist* 13 (25 April 1891): 10.
28. Wood's career is given in his obituary, "An Old Journalist Gone," *New York Times*, 28 January 1884, 8.
29. O'Brien, "Story of the Sun," 372.
30. O'Brien, "Story of the Sun," 383–84.

that "there is nothing that the average copy reader dreads so much as the alleged humorist."[31] In an essay on the pay of various newspaper jobs, a literary magazine listed "copy-reader" as one of the standard categories.[32]

Initially, the copy editor had two claims to status and authority. First, he worked closely with a senior editor, often the city editor, who typically had the authority to hire staff and decide what is newsworthy.[33] Where one stands in a workplace hierarchy, C. Wright Mills contends, depends "first upon the extent to which one participates in the [managerial] cadre's authority, and second, the closeness of one's association with its members."[34] Second, the copy editor trimmed reporters' copy, at a time when many, if not most, reporters were paid by the word.[35] Thus, a trade publication wrote in 1892 that reporters at the *New York Mail and Express*, denied time allowance and expenses, "are subsisting on starvation wages. . . . They were to have the bare space their matter filled after it had been ground down by the copy-reader's pencil."[36] Describing his days as a cub reporter at the *New York Herald* in the early 1900s, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., termed the copy reader "the biggest Roman of them all, for he is the fellow who 'trims' your copy."[37]

Both of these bases for status and authority proved to be transient. The "space and time" system faded after World War I; also, as newspaper staffs grew, copy editing became the work of a distinct department. By 1884, it was common practice that "a special department condensed and prepared news and wrote headlines, distinct from one that edited telegraphic reports and correspondence."[38] The term *copy desk* soon came into use. For example, a young woman joined the *Chicago Tribune* staff as a

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31. "Chicago," *Journalist* 13 (28 March 1891): 12. A reporter prefaced a yarn: "I flung my copy upon the copy reader's desk, and my work for that issue was over." Harold McGrath, "The Editor's Story," *Journalist* 14 (5 March 1892): 10.
32. Henry King, "The Rank and Pay of Journalists," *Forum* 18 (January 1895): 591–92.
33. The latter is "the most crucial decision in journalism." Ben Bagdikian, *The Information Machines* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 104–5.
34. C. Wright Mills, *White Collar: The American Middle Classes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951): 210.
35. The "space and time" system was a journalistic version of piece-work. For a description, see Cummings, "How Newspapers Are Made," 105–9. The "space and time" system became quite common in the late nineteenth century. Ted C. Smythe, "The Reporter, 1880–1900: Working Conditions and Their Influence on the News," *Journalism History* 7 (Spring 1980): 2–3.
36. "Free Lance," "New York," *Journalist* 14 (23 January 1892): 12.
37. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr, *Personal Experiences of a Cub Reporter* (New York: George Sully, 1922), 4.
38. Lee, *Daily Newspaper*, 629. A comprehensive survey of United States newspapers reported that editorial work "is divided between editorial writing, exchange reading, the condensation and preparation of news, the editing of telegraphic news and correspondence, etc." Simon N. D. North, *History and Present Condition of the Newspaper and Periodical Press of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1884), 83.

reporter in 1893, and the next February "the boys on the copy-desk sent her a joint valentine."[39] With the establishment of a separate "copy desk," with its own head copy reader, or "slotman," the copy editor's authority and status now derived from the slotman, who typically played no part in the other stages of the editing process.[40] The copy editor had been shorn of direct links with the city editor or the night editor. He became one of a number of anonymous editors, whose bundle of tasks had been narrowed to writing headlines and doing a restricted version of final editing.[41]

The copy editor judged not all news stories but only some, thus seeing only part of a larger picture. Assessing a story only after a more senior editor had judged it, the copy editor performed tasks that were, essentially, supplementary:

> It becomes the copy reader's duty to assure that every "story" is written in good English, is clear, concise and consecutive in statement, with all its features given appropriate weight; that the policy of the paper is conserved; that all libellous phrases are eliminated; that attractive, telling headlines are written, and . . . that the points and the symmetry of the article are not lost in the condensation necessitated by the exigencies of space.[42]

This work was the final polishing, "the decorative touches which dress the paper, attract the reader's eye, and round off the work of the editor and the reporter."[43] The status of this work was much lower than that of deciding which topics were newsworthy or which reporter would cover a story. The latter tasks had the power to shape the newsgathering process. By contrast, the copy editor's tasks lacked any such measure of authority and status. In effect, the class position of copy editing work was transformed from manager to laborer. At the *New York World*, a trade journal reported in 1892, "The fate of the copy readers is . . . doleful. A time clock is to be used, to keep tabs on them like so many day laborers. Copy is to be stamped when handed to a man, and stamped when returned."[44]

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39. James W. Linn, *James Keeley: Newspaperman* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1937), 53. Will Irwin described the *New York Sun's* managing editor as "rising from his chair and walking over to the copy desk." Will Irwin, "The New York Sun," *American Magazine* 67 (January 1909): 308.
40. Willard G. Bleyer, *Newspaper Writing and Editing* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1913), 258–59.
41. Copy editors' anonymity and increasing numbers are suggested in a staff memo from Joseph Pulitzer: "One really good one is worth three ordinary ones; we should pick out the best copy readers in the town and pay them the highest salaries." Pulitzer Papers, Box 1, 28 May 1897.
42. Charles A. Bridge, "The Copy Reader," *Journalist* 15 (21 May 1892): 13.
43. Bridge, "The Copy Reader," 13.
44. "Free Lance," "New York," *Journalist* 16 (8 October 1892): 4.

Two themes suggest the copy editor's descent within an increasingly stratified newsroom hierarchy of power. First, the nature of the tasks assigned to copy editing was viewed as being lackluster, if not unpleasant, when compared with reporting or with other editing work. Repetitive and narrowly focused, copy editing was "in many respects . . . akin to literary drudgery."[45] A trade journal in 1891 described the *New York Herald's* night desk: "Oh, what a dreary spot it is."[46] Similarly, it said of the night desk of the *Brooklyn World*, "Night toil is 'hard beyond picturing,' the responsibilities great, and the shekels generally few."[47] Second, copy editing was described as being thankless work. "The post of copy reader on the [San Francisco] *Examiner* is a thankless job and there has been a still hunt for some one to fill that position. . . . Al Murphy said that there were four men whose sole duty was to read the paper and find mistakes, and the copy reader got blamed for every mistake, and he wasn't going to have it." Will Irwin lauded Selah Clarke for having "put genius into the ungrateful task of copy-reading."[48]

The grim status of copy editing is a theme that persists to the present. Recalling his experiences on a copy desk in the mid-1920s, a newspaperman wrote that the copy editor "seldom held his head high. . . . [H]e had been called the old maid of the profession, he had been accused of murdering the creative talent" of reporters.[49] A popularized approach to press criticism described the copy reader as "a reporter who has been condemned as a galley-slave to desk work."[50] Trying to find something positive to say about the work, a veteran city editor wrote that the copy editor "has fixed, regular hours; his spare time is his own. And sitting down at one's work is sometimes a sweet boon."[51]

Some journalists transferred the copy editor's unattractive work to the personalities of those who did it. A biography of the *New York Times* described copy editing as "probably the most tedious and unheralded craft in the newsroom. Copyreaders were a special breed of journalists. They were indoor creatures, retainers of rules, anonymous men. Educated men, well-read travelers, they were ideally suited for the work,

45. Bridge, "The Copy Reader," 13.
46. Joe Howard, "The New York Herald Under the Two Bennetts," *Journalist* (8 August 1891): 4.
47. *Journalist* 16 (8 October 1892): 13.
48. "Golden Gate," "Golden Gate Gossip," *Journalist* 15 (26 March 1892): 11; Will Irwin, "The American Newspaper VII: The Reporter and the News," *Colliers* 47 (22 April 1911): 35.
49. Kenneth Stewart, *News Is What We Make It* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), 44.
50. Silas Bent, *Ballyhoo: The Voice of the Press* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927), 108.
51. Stanley Walker, *City Editor* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1934), 93.

though few would admit it. They had not planned on that. . . . [Copy editors were] introspective men, careful men, dreamers not doers."[52] Recalling the early 1960s at the *New York Times*, a former reporter noted that, concerning the copy desk, he was advised, "The game is to sneak some color or interpretation past that line of humorless zombies."[53] In 1993 the editor of a Catholic newspaper in Hartford, Conn., resigned after accusing the local archbishop of censorship tantamount to direct control: "I was reduced to a glorified copy editor."[54]

Copy editors' conditions deteriorated during an era of turmoil. As the growing corporate sector sought to increase control over the workplace, and as the pursuit of advertising and circulation brought continued growth in newsroom staffs and the volume of copy, the editing process became more like an assembly line.[55] The advent of organizing among newsroom workers may be seen as a response to changes in the labor process. The *Journalist* reported in 1892 that "representative working newspaper reporters and copy editors" in New York met, listened to speeches from union officials and "unanimously decided to organize a local union . . . under the I.T.U."[56] Several journalists described "details of some of the injustices under which they suffer and the abuses to which they are subject."[57] The lines between management and labor were sharpening to a point where, despite journalism's "public service" ethos, journalists were prepared to treat management as an opponent, more than as colleagues with whom one put out the paper. In 1919 the *New Republic* editorialized, "From Copy Readers to Leg Men to Chief Editorial Writers, they have organized in Bos-

52. Gay Talese, *The Kingdom and the Power* (New York: New American Library, 1969), 61–62.

53. Robert Darnton, "Writing News and Telling Stories," *Daedalus* 104 (Spring 1975): 180.

54. Quoted in Ari L. Goldman, "Question of Censorship Shadows Catholic Paper," *New York Times*, 19 May 1993, B-5.

55. As capital and labor struggled over the country's identity, "wage labor emerged . . . [as] the typical lot of American workers." Trachtenberg, *Incorporation of America*, 77. Also see David Montgomery, *Workers' Control in America: Studies in the History of Work, Technology and Labor Struggles* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979). The country's economic growth did not represent simply an enlargement of existing social and political forms. Rather, the progressive era marked "the passage of a relatively mature American industrial capitalism from its proprietary-competitive stage to an early phase of its corporate-administered stage. . . . [This meant] far-reaching and interrelated changes transpiring in the political, governmental, cultural, and intellectual spheres, as well as in the economy." Martin J. Sklar, *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890–1916* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 4–5.

56. "A Union Formed," *Journalist* 15 (23 April 1892): 14. Newsroom workers originally organized as special chapters of the printers' union; printers had long since come to see themselves as workers, and their strikes could shut down a newspaper quite effectively.

57. "A Union Formed," 14.

58. "News Writers Union Local No. 1," *New Republic*, 6 August 1919, 8. "1919 was *the* great year of industrial unrest over wages, hours, and recognition of

ton."[58]

Further changes in newspapers' political economy solidified the copy editor's laborer status. Post-Civil War economic growth had brought much advertising. From 1879 to 1909, the proportion of their revenues that newspapers and periodicals received from advertising rose from 44 percent to 60 percent. But this prosperity also made it far more expensive to start and to maintain a newspaper.[59] Consequently, the number of dailies began to decline, peaking at 2,600 in 1909.[60] A contemporary observer wrote, "It is correct to say that the decreasing number of newspapers in our larger American cities is due to the enormously increased cost of maintaining great dailies."[61] Despite this, newsroom jobs continued to increase. From 1920 to 1930, the number of editors and reporters employed nationwide jumped from thirty-nine thousand to sixty-one thousand, while the number of dailies decreased by some 350.[62] This suggests an increase in the size of newsroom staffs, while power remained concentrated in the hands of a few top editors. Over time, newsroom workers formed a more collective sense of their position in the newsroom hierarchy; the Newspaper Guild was founded in 1933.

And yet, then as today, the newsroom work experience also depended on the personalities and views of the top editors. Combined with the diverse speeds at which various newsrooms' staffs grew, this accounted for variations in the copy editor's status and authority, from one newspaper to another. Thus, in contrast to the grim portrait of copy editors at New York newspapers in the 1890s, a Philadelphia copy editor recalled the work's status then:

> The old Philadelphia Press . . . was a great training school for copyreaders. There the desk was given its proper dignity.
>
> A reporter would no more have thought of going up to the Press copy desk and helping himself to shears or pastepot than he would have thought of walking clear to Broad street, six or seven blocks, to

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unions and shop committees." David Stark, "Class Struggle and the Transformation of the Labor Process," *Theory and Society* 9 (January 1980): 111.

59. "Ads swelled the size of the paper each day, requiring larger plants, more paper and ink, and bigger staffs." Ben Bagdikian, *The Media Monopoly*, 4th ed. (Boston: Beacon, 1992), 176.

60. Lee, *Daily Newspaper*, 719.

61. Oswald Garrison Villard, "Press Tendencies and Dangers," *Atlantic Monthly* 121 (January 1918): 62. Similarly, Godkin wrote that journalism "had by the middle of the century risen to the rank of a new industry, requiring large capital and a huge plant." "Newspapers Here and Abroad," 198. Also see Bleyer, *Main Currents*, 391.

62. *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 1975): 140. While these figures refer to journalists employed by all publications, likely at least 60 percent worked for daily newspapers. The number of dailies is given in Lee, *Daily Newspaper*, 719.

> cash his pay order with a perfectly obliging saloonkeeper right across the street. No, indeed, that was a COPY DESK.
>
> Not often did a reporter reach that eminence in which he dared to approach the desk at all without being summoned. Reporters that did that were among the elite.[63]

Yet this same copy editor lamented in 1923 that "the copy desk is commonly held in scorn by the star reporters and those functionaries with various editorial handles to their titles. . . . [T]he salaries of copyreaders are still miserably low as compared with those of star reporters."[64] This sounds like the New York copy editors of the 1890s. In sum, the trend was toward a loss of status and authority for the copy editor, although it occurred at different times at different newspapers. The copy editor retained authority only in relation to those whose copy he edited—and the reporter's star was on the rise.

Until the late nineteenth century, the newspaper reporter usually received little public recognition. Many were paid according to the "space and time" system, which meant big pay for some but little pay for many.[65] Although newspaper managements typically deprecated their reporters, by the late nineteenth century, social currents were working on the reporter's behalf. The focus of United States daily newspapers had changed from editorials to news reporting, and, starting in the 1890s, a reformist impulse in political culture brought a heightened "concern with news, interviews, exposure (of corruption), and human interest," which in turn "set a premium on the good reporter."[66] The advent in the 1890s of popular magazines heightened public awareness of the reporter, since initially many of these magazines featured muckrakers such as Lincoln Steffens and Upton Sinclair.[67]

The fading of the "space and time" system removed the copy editor's financial power over the reporter. Meanwhile, the increasing use of bylines aided the reporter's status, inside and outside the newsroom. Used during the Civil War and the Spanish-American War, bylines became quite common by the 1930s. This, Schudson suggests, "gave the reporter greater authority

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63. Orville A. Welsh, "The Copy Desk Demands Its Place in Sun," *Editor and Publisher*, 24 March 1923, 12.
64. Welsh, "Copy Desk Demands Place in Sun," 12.
65. A trade journal's shop talk column from Boston reported many "comments on the unequal manner in which reportorial wages are distributed." Thomas F. Anderson, "Boston," *Journalist* 12 (10 January 1891): 5.
66. The emphasis on news is discussed in Godkin, "Newspapers Here and Abroad," 197–98, and in Lee, *Daily Newspaper*, 629. The social currents are treated in Richard C. Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York: Knopf, 1955), 190.
67. Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 192.
68. Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic, 1978), 145.

in relation to the copy desk."[68] Turner Catledge recalled that at the *New York Times* in the early 1920s, copy editors were "the aristocrats of the newsroom. They made more money and worked more regular hours than reporters, and were more highly valued by most executives. The shift in status came with the proliferation of bylines in the late thirties."[69] Formerly, public recognition had come only to prominent papers' top editors, such as Horace Greeley or Charles A. Dana, and perhaps to a few war correspondents. With the growing use of the byline, any reporter could lay claim to a basis for status that was unavailable to the copy editor.

The rise of specialization and interpretive reporting in the 1930s also helped the reporter's status, inside and outside the newsroom.[70] As newspapers expanded their concept of news, the concept of general assignment reporter was supplemented by that of the specialist, or "beat" reporter. It had been common practice for copy desks to have specialists, with the copy divided accordingly.[71] As the number of specialties grew, newspaper managers were confronted with a logical problem, in that reporters substantially outnumber copy editors. This encouraged the use of the "universal desk" system, in which all copy editors were expected to be generalists. Thus the copy editor was denied specialist status, while the reporter increasingly was granted the same.

Why is one sort of work valued more highly than another? Becker quotes Anthony Trollope's description of rising at dawn to write, before going off to work at the post office. Trollope was awoken and served coffee by an old groom, who was always punctual: "I do not know that I ought not to feel that I owe more to him than to any one else for the success I have had."[72] Becker's point is that art work, like most kinds of work, is collective behavior—and that dividing up the credit is an arbitrary activity.[73] The copy editor's history suggests that, unlike reporters or top editors, such work lacked any bases for successfully laying a public claim to status. In the public view of newspaper work, putting the "decorating touches" on others' work was not grounds for amassing much cultural capital.

Within the newsroom, the copy editor's claims to status and

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69. Turner Catledge, *My Life and The Times* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 165.

70. Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 145.

71. Welsh, "Copy Desk Demands Its Place"; Norman J. Radder, *Newspaper Make-Up and Headlines* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1924), 3.

72. Becker, *Art Worlds*, 1.

73. The status of a particular sort of work may vary over time, or from one society to another. For example, in the nineteenth-century United States, medicine "occupied an inferior place among the professions," and today Russian physicians earn "less than three-quarters of the average industrial wage." Paul Starr, "Medicine and the Waning of Professional Sovereignty," *Daedalus* 107 (Winter 1978): 177.

authority were undermined by changes in the labor process, which was driven by capital accumulation. During United States capitalism's transition from a "proprietary phase" to a "corporate" phase, some final editing tasks were taken away from the copy editor.[74] Yet copy editors were not stripped of their remaining skilled tasks and given simpler ones; instead, their tasks simply came to be treated as those of a laborer, rather than those of a manager. This suggests that capitalism "is disinterested in skill; it chooses whichever stratagem promises the greatest profit."[75] Reporters' rising social status did give them leverage for more pay; management, intentionally or not, still could minimize copy editors' pay by devaluing their work and keeping it anonymous. Some suggestion of worker resistance may be gleaned from the *Journalist's* shop talk about difficulties in recruiting for the copy desk, but journalists could and quite often did change employers. Further, the culture of United States journalism, with its rationale of public service, likely inhibited copy editors from using familiar forms of workers' resistance—e.g., absenteeism, slowdowns, shoddy work, strikes, or sabotage. Finally, antagonisms between reporters and copy editors may have hampered collective action.

The pursuit of advertising and circulation led United States daily newspapers to embrace the ideologies of professionalism and objectivity, in order to bolster the legitimacy of newspapers' asserted and basic link between commercialism and political impartiality. But in their newsrooms, the copy editor—the final arbiter of each news story's tone, content, and headline—increasingly was denied the status and authority to enforce these standards.

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74. "Deskilling" means changes in the labor process under capitalism, which "systematically destroys all-around skills . . . and brings into being skills and occupations that correspond to its needs." Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974), 82.

75. Paul Attewell, *Radical Political Economy Since the Sixties: A Sociology of Knowledge Analysis* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 136.

THE STAGNATION AND DECLINE OF PARTISAN JOURNALISM IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA

Changes in the *New York World*, 1860–76

Jeffrey Rutenbeck

THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL and political role of newspapers in nineteenth-century America underwent dramatic changes.[1] Using the *New York World*, 1860–1876, as a case study, this paper addresses two specific aspects of those changes: 1) the shift following the Civil War away from a partisan model of newspaper activity toward the more commercially viable independent model; 2) the combination of financial and ideological pressures facing newspapers that attempted to maintain close ties with political parties in this emerging age of independent newspapers.

The *New York World*, under the ownership and editorship of Manton Marble, serves as an excellent example of the difficulties of partisanship in the age of emerging independence. The financial and political struggles faced by Marble and his *World* can be framed in the larger context of the increasing clash between the residual mentality of partisanship and the emerging ideal of political independence.[2] Manton Marble's involvement

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1. There are many works that address these changes. For example, see Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News* (New York: Basic, 1979); Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989); Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History 1690–1960* (New York: Macmillan, 1962); J. Herbert Altschull, *Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs* (New York: Longman, 1984); Daniel Schiller, *Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981); Alfred McClung Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America* (New York: Macmillan, 1937); Willard G. Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927).

2. It would be a mistake to assume that any one newspaper, in the vast and complicated world of journalism immediately following the Civil War, could represent an entire shift in the orientation of the American press. However, the *New York World* under the direction of Marble does represent the experience of a prominent metropolitan political newspaper that struggled to reconcile partisanship, independence, and financial survival. Because the partisan *World* represented a brand of journalism that was being outpaced by the move toward

with the *World* illustrates the kind of tension that could develop between an independent-minded political editor and a demanding political party. His newspaper and manuscripts provide much insight into the operation of a political journal and its struggle for political acceptance and financial stability in a world of changing political values and evolving business practices.[3] This challenge was faced by many who, like Marble, attempted to keep their papers active in party affairs while seeking the freedom to disagree with party policy and, perhaps more importantly, to make their newspapers into financially profitable enterprises.

As Michael McGerr notes, partisanship in nineteenth-century America entailed more than involvement with a particular political organization. "For mid-nineteenth-century Northerners, party became a natural lens through which to view the world. Most men found it second nature to perceive events from a partisan perspective and to imagine a black-and-white world of absolutes, of political friends and enemies. Party encouraged an intense, dogmatic cast of mind."[4] Partisanship, in this traditional sense, often manifested itself in blind party loyalty. Partisan newspapers, as loyal mouthpieces of political parties, provided the most important ideological apparatus for American political organizations.

As many researchers have indicated, partisanship in the early days of American journalism was marked by staunch editorial support of political candidates and loyalty to political parties. At its financial base, partisanship proved to be the economic lifeblood of many journals that could secure government and party patronage, usually in the form of federal, state, county, and municipal printing contracts and direct donations.[5]

Partisanship, then, constituted the dominant economic and ideological operating base of American newspapers during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century. However, as Culver Smith has argued, by the middle of the nineteenth century or "a little later," the conditions that had encouraged subsidies

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independence in American journalism, it can offer an important glimpse into the workings, and the failings, of a late nineteenth-century partisan newspaper

3. See Gerald J. Baldasty and Jeffrey B. Rutenbeck, "Money, Politics and Newspapers: The Business Environment of Press Partisanship in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journalism History* 15 (Summer/Autumn 1989): 60–69.

4. Michael McGerr, *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865–1928* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 13. McGerr notes, "Day after day in the mid-nineteenth century, newspapers presented a political world and encouraged readers to view it in partisan terms" (21).

5. See Gerald J. Baldasty, "The Press and Politics in the Age of Jackson," *Journalism Monographs* 89 (August 1984), and his "Executive Patronage and the Press, 1831–1841" (Paper presented at AEJMC West Coast Historians conference, University of San Francisco, February 1984); also see Carolyn Stuart Dyer, "Political Patronage of the Wisconsin Press: New Perspectives on the Economics of Patronage," *Journalism Monographs* 109 (February 1989); and William Ames, *A History of the National Intelligencer* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972).

for newspapers that publicized government activities changed. The invention of the railroad and telegraph made it possible for more papers to survive and thrive without money from the government and political parties. In addition, the Government Printing Office, established by the Lincoln administration in 1860, signalled the beginning of the end of the federal government's need to patronize newspapers.[6]

The independent journalism movement was the first widespread threat to the party press and the ideas of partisanship that had dominated American journalism up until the American Civil War.[7] Many publishers were discovering advantages in financial and political independence, and because commercial advertising made possible an increasing number of independent papers, political parties found the patronage papers less and less influential in party affairs, compared to the independent press with its greater circulation.[8]

By the late 1860s and early 1870s, partisanship in the form of unwavering party loyalty represented an ideal of the press that had already seen its glory days. Most references to the idea of partisanship were confined to a comparison or contrast with independent journalism. Partisanship, because it had already achieved its own level of acceptance in earlier days, did not require the same degree of editorial explanation as independent journalism did, save for any particular newspaper 's justifications for not becoming independent.[9] Instead of discussing

6. Culver Smith, *The Press, Politics and Patronage: The American Government's Use of Newspapers, 1789–1875* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977), 219–34.

7. Schudson claims that the rise of the penny press in the 1830s represented a most significant challenge to the dominance of the party press. *Discovering the News*, 12–60. However, as the data in this study indicate, partisanship was the norm in American journalism several decades beyond the sale of the first issue of the *New York Sun*.

8. Smith, *Press, Politics, and Patronage*, 246. However, Smith points out that partisanship among some newspapers continued to exist "longer than necessary" because it encouraged a form of continuing party patronage and because there were still some newspaper proprietors who sought patronage (246). Specifically, state government patronage of newspapers continued in earnest, especially among the county weeklies. As Smith notes, even during the period he studied Congress attempted to help sustain the small county papers by "repeatedly granting them special postage privileges for local circulation" (322). Also see "The Press Transformed," in McGerr, *Decline of Popular Politics*, 107–37.

9. Evidence documenting the decline of partisanship in the late nineteenth century is difficult to isolate. It is easier to trace the rise of political independence as a historically identifiable movement in American journalism than to trace the decline of partisanship. Introductory issues of newspapers often declared their intended political course, but usually only explained in detail when they were deviating from the norm of party advocacy. Changes of ownership or affiliation prompted discussions of political positions, but it would be onerous to identify such changes across a wide range of newspapers. The Liberal Republican movement of 1872 articulated independent ideals, but it did not prompt party loyalists to explain their political position because it represented the status quo. Finally, partisan journals rarely commented editorially on the decline of partisanship in light of the changing political and economic orientations of the American press.

the meaning of partisanship, most newspapers were discussing the independence movement as a *reaction to* the shortcomings of partisan journalism. In 1872 William Cullen Bryant of the *New York Evening Post* claimed that the "jackal days of journalism are gone, happily never to return. . . . The journalist is no longer the camp-follower of this or that party, shouting the battle cries of his leaders, and picking up such booty in the way of office as his generals may choose to throw to him. He is himself a leader, a centre of political power, directing the course of parties and only losing his power when he becomes a partisan."[10]

From an economic standpoint, many newspapers were addressing the relationship between independence and the increasing financial pressures that were mounting with each year of operation.[11] For example, during the Liberal Republican bid for the White House in 1872 the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, a Liberal Republican paper, wrote an obituary in response to the death of one of its rivals, the *New York Standard*. "The making of newspapers has become a systematic, comprehensive business," the editor of the *Eagle* claimed, "and, like other businesses conducted on a large scale, requires a great deal of capital . . . let none undertake it who are not prepared first to invest heavily."[12] For many papers, partisanship and party loyalty were becoming secondary to their struggle for commercial viability.

According to Michael Schudson, the advent of the penny press in New York in the 1830s signalled the beginning of the end of party press dominance in American journalism. Other sources, however, point to a much later and much more dramatic shift. The United States Census of 1850 indicates that only 83 out of 2,526 newspapers were listed as "independent" or "neutral."[13] Another important source, *Rowell's American Newspaper Directory*, shows that the number of partisan papers during the years 1869–1879 remained stagnant, while the number of independent and nonaffiliated newspapers was increasing dramatically.

For example, New York state was home to only sixty-five

10. *New York Evening Post*, 16 May 1872.

11. Though it might be tempting to dismiss much of what appears in newspaper editorials of the nineteenth century as mere rhetoric, it is important to note that by the 1870s American newspapers were gaining political and economic power in their own right, yet they lacked the professional or institutional associations (such as the American Newspaper Publishers Association, formed in 1887) to articulate their growing sense of self awareness. I am not advocating that scholars take these editorials at face value, but it would be equally imprudent to dismiss them altogether. For an interesting theoretical view on this subject, see "Means of Communication as Means of Production," by Raymond Williams, in *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London: Verso, 1980). Also see Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards*, and Susan Maushart, "Self-Reflexiveness and the Institution of Journalism," *Etc.* 43 (Fall 1986): 272–78.

12. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 11 July 11 1872.

13. *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, D.C.: 1853), lxv.

independent newspapers (13 percent) in 1869. According to Rowell's directory there were 108 Democratic (21 percent) and 159 Republican newspapers (31 percent) that year. Partisan newspapers constituted 52 percent of all newspapers in the state in 1869, and independent and nonaffiliated newspapers just 33 percent. By 1879, just ten years later, there was a dramatic shift toward the label of independent.[14] Rowell's directory listed 325 independent and non-affiliated newspapers (42 percent) in New York state, and 290 partisan newspapers (38 percent). These data suggest that party papers were not necessarily declining in absolute numbers, but in proportion to the increasing number of independent and nonaffiliated newspapers. Their dominance of the newspaper scene was waning.[15]

Other states showed much the same trend. Rowell's data for the state of California represent a more dramatic case of the situation in New York state.[16] The state of Ohio reflected a similar trend.[17] And a most dramatic decline in the number of the number of partisan newspapers was experienced in the state of Illinois.[18]

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14. In its broadest definition, the label *independent* indicated a newspaper's unwillingness to connect itself to a particular political party—a significant departure from the dominant tradition of partisan affiliation. More specifically, many American newspapers defined independence as the right to bolt a particular party or candidate whenever they chose.

15. In his autobiography, *Forty Years an Advertising Agent, 1865–1905* (New York: Printer's Ink, 1906), George P. Rowell gives no objective criteria for his definition of partisanship. Rowell surveyed newspapers using a standard form in which the newspapers themselves indicated their political affiliation. Rowell relied on local and regional listings, and in many cases, the newspapers themselves, to gather information on those papers that did not return the form. Rowell, *American Newspaper Directory*, v. Information in Rowell's directory has been found to be generally accurate and reliable. See Jeffrey B. Rutenbeck, "The Rise of Independent Newspapers in the 1870s: A Transformation in American Journalism" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1990); also see Willard G. Bleyer, *Main Currents*.

16. In California in 1869 there were only twenty independent (15 percent) and twelve nonaffiliated newspapers (9 percent) compared to thirty-five Democratic (26 percent) and thirty-seven Republican newspapers (28 percent). In 1869 partisan journals made up 54 percent of the total newspaper population, and independent and nonaffiliated journals made up only 24 percent. By 1879 the proportions had shifted dramatically. The number of partisan newspapers remained relatively stagnant, dropping from seventy-two in 1869 to sixty-nine, and their share of the total newspaper population dipped from 54 percent ten years earlier to 31 percent in 1879. The number of independent newspapers was up to fifty and the number of nonaffiliated newspapers climbed to sixty-eight; together, they made up 54 percent of all newspapers in California.

17. In Ohio in 1869 partisan newspapers made up 76 percent (72 Democratic and 116 Republican) of all newspapers in the state; independent newspapers numbered only seventeen and, combined with nonaffiliated newspapers, made up only 15 percent of all newspapers in the state. By 1879 the portion of partisan newspapers dropped from the three-quarters share ten years earlier to only 44 percent. Independent and nonaffiliated newspapers multiplied during the decade to make up 47 percent of all newspapers in the state.

18. In Illinois in 1869 there were 70 Democratic and 149 Republican newspapers listed in Rowell's directory; they constituted 76 percent of all newspapers in the

In each of the four states mentioned above, the number of independent and nonaffiliated newspapers increased dramatically between 1869 and 1879. Nationally, the total number of U.S. newspapers listed in Rowell's increased from 5,091 in 1870 to 8,035.[19] The fact that the number of partisan newspapers remained relatively constant, or even dramatically declined, in the four states studied as well as the nation suggests that most of the newspapers established during the 1870s were not avowedly partisan.

Nearly all sources point toward a rise in political independence and a decline in partisanship among most American newspapers during the latter third of the nineteenth century.[20] But what did independence mean to these newspaper editors and publishers? From an ideological standpoint, independence was closely related to growing anti-partisan sentiments rooted in post-Civil War reform movements.[21] It allowed for deviation from the party line and encouraged independent movement *within* the realm of party politics. From an economic standpoint, independence functioned to broaden newspapers' reading audience and promoted newspapers from party lackeys to political and economic forces in their own right.[22] However, as McGerr notes, "By themselves, the material changes in the newspaper business did not destroy partisan journalism. Ante-bellum editors had been willing partners, not slaves, of party. . . . The newspapers and parties were partners in thought and outlook as well as business."[23]

Manton Marble's management of the *New York World* illustrates the changing balance between partisanship and independence in the 1870s. From its founding in June 1860 by well-known editorial and travel writer James R. Spalding and conservative methodist Philadelphian Alexander Cummings, the *World* was staffed by some of most noted writers of the day, including Richard Henry Stoddard, Edmund Clarence Stedman, Thomas C. Evans, Richard Grant White, George Perkins Marsh,

state. There were only eighteen independent and thirty nonaffiliated newspapers, constituting a meager 17 percent of all newspapers in the state. Ten years later, the number of partisan newspapers had decline to just 173 (67 Democratic and 106 Republican), from 219 in 1869. The 70 independent and 107 nonaffiliated newspapers now constituted 48 percent and partisan newspapers just 41 percent of all the newspapers in the state.

19. Bleyer, *Main Currents*, 718.

20. See, for example, the data from Rowell's directory for the years 1869–79. Also see McGerr, *Decline of Popular Politics*; Baldasty and Rutenbeck, "Money, Politics and Newspapers"; Mott, *American Journalism*; and Schudson, *Discovering the News*.

21. See Jeffrey B. Rutenbeck, "Toward a History of the Ideologies of Partisanship and Independence in American Journalism," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 15 (Autumn 1991): 5–18.

22. See Baldasty and Rutenbeck, "Money, Politics and Newspaper," 60–69; and Gaye Tuchman, "Professionalism as an Agent of Legimitation," *Journal of Communication* 28 (Spring 1978): 106-13.

23. McGerr, *Decline of Popular Politics*, 110.

Ivory Chamberlin, and David Melliss. One man instrumental in recruiting such a noteworthy staff was Manton Marble, who had been hired as the night editor of the then-proposed newspaper in February 1860.[24]

In describing the course it intended to take for itself, the *World* claimed that though it would support no religious doctrine, its disposition would be clearly Christian. Politically, the *World* declared independence from party service and claimed it would use Whiggish principles to support the best men for public service. In its introduction, the editors of the *World* added:

> For the prevailing opinion of the day we shall have due deference, but we shall never make it our oracle. The first business of every press is to be true to itself—true to its own conscience. It must have a conscience, or else not have a character; and if no character, no influence.... We look for support in the faithful discharge of our duties to the faithful representatives of the substantial interests of the country; since by none are strict probity, truth, openness, and straight-forwardness more prized—for these are the very elements of that confidence, without which business life is impossible.[25]

In the same introductory statement, the editors claimed to be a part of "the constant elevation and improvement of the periodical press of our country... one of the most marked and

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24. George T. McJimsey, *Genteel Partisan: Manton Marble, 1834–1917* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1971), 22. Manton Marble began his journalistic career while attending the Baptist seminary of the University of Rochester He first worked as an apprentice to Chester P. Dewey, editor of the *Rochester American*. After graduating in 1855, Marble ventured to Boston where he was immediately thrust into the position of assistant editor for the *Boston Journal*. Early in 1856 Marble left full-time journalism to become assistant librarian at the Boston Athenaeum, the city's finest library.

Marble continued to write book reviews for the *Boston Traveller*, and his work eventually captured the attention of *Traveller* owner Roland Worthington, who offered Marble the job of editor-in-chief, which Marble assumed on 1 October 1856. Soon after Marble's editorial debut, the conservative Whig *Traveller* was set upon a new course. Hoping to improve the standing of the newspaper, Worthington merged the *Traveller* with three other dailies and changed the paper's politics to independent Republican. Marble was demoted to literary editor and replaced by Samuel Bowles of *Springfield Republican* fame, who helped steer the paper in political directions that were not comfortable for Marble. In December 1857 Marble resigned, but he was not out of journalism for long.

In March 1858 Marble arrived in New York as an employee of the *New York Evening Post*. As one of Marble's biographers points out, his decision to work for the *Evening Post* was puzzling because that paper had been a long-time organ of the radical wing of the New York Democratic Party. With Marble's establishment in New York City came a new era in his career. Though he stayed with the *Post* for only a short time, his presence in New York journalistic circles led him to Cummings and Spalding, who were gathering staff to publish what was to be the *World*, a politically independent, religious newspaper in New York City. This prospect appealed to Marble, and he was hired to the editorial staff of the *World*.

25. *New York World*, 14 June 1860.

gratifying tokens of our social progress."[26] In practice during the early years, the politics of the *World* followed conservative Republican lines, and it continually proclaimed its independence.[27]

The *World*'s early days were marked by internal dissent and financial difficulty. Shrewdness on the part of Marble and ambition on the part of Cummings left them both in control of the *World* after a period of reorganization early in 1861. Another reorganization a few months later brought the abandonment of the *World*'s religious character and a 1 July merger with the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, another conservative Republican paper. Again, the revitalized paper promised independence in politics but allied itself with Lincoln and the preservation of the Union.[28]

Marble's rise to power as editor of the paper did not produce a rise in revenues. By 1862 Marble controlled the editorial policy; however, the paper itself continued to sink into unprofitability. In April 1862 the board of trustees resolved to stop publication of the paper. To salvage the enterprise, Marble purchased controlling interest and managed to raise the money required to take over the paper completely. As a result of the ordeal, Marble's biographer claims that "gone were Marble's devotion to principle and his desire to comprehend the moral order of the universe. The artist had endured his first test and had emerged from it an entrepreneur."[29]

With its new owner at the helm, the *World* declared its political independence and then openly supported Lincoln and the conservative Republicans.[30] Unfortunately for Marble, neither the public nor the Republican party seemed willing to patronize the journal. Within months of assuming control of the paper, the *World*'s worsening financial situation drove Marble to adopt an entirely new course. The Republican slant of the paper was doing his business no good. He needed to find patrons of another sort to give the paper some financial stability. Thus began Manton Marble's relationship with the Democrats of New York.

Marble saw the need for a Democratic Party voice in the press.[31] Samuel Barlow, a life-long Democrat and prominent

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26. *New York World*, 14 June 1860.
27. McJimsey, *Genteel Partisan*, 24. McJimsey points out that this conservative Republican course made sense, given who ran and worked for the paper Spalding had worked for the Whig *Courier and Enquirer*, Cummings was a political ally of Simon Cameron, and Ivory Chamberlain, one of the principal editorial writers, had helped Millard Fillmore campaign for president in 1856. McJimsey claims, "When he thought about it, Marble was also a Whig."
28. McJimsey, *Genteel Partisan*, 24.
29. McJimsey, *Genteel Partisan*, 32.
30. McJimsey, *Genteel Partisan*, 32.
31. Irving Katz, *August Belmont: A Political Biography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 117.

lawyer in New York City, was the first to come to Marble's aid. By the middle of September 1862, with Barlow's help, Marble had sold three-fourths of his 25 percent interest to Barlow, August Belmont, and Samuel J. Tilden.[32] The *World*'s circulation under its new ownership climbed immediately, soon ranking fifth among the more than twenty New York City dailies.[33]

All through the negotiations and most noticeably after they were completed, the *World*'s editorial position began shifting to some place "between the Democratic and Republican parties."[34] In a 28 January 1863, article, Marble revealed that he had offered the position of editor to none other than Republican leader Thurlow Weed, who had just stepped down from running the *Albany Evening Journal*.[35] Weed did not accept and, profoundly disappointed with the outcome of the state conventions, Marble ended his brief era of political ambiguity by committing his paper to the Democratic party.

Though he had first approached the Democratic party out of financial necessity, Marble put some effort into his move away from an independent position and the reconciliation of his political principles with the aims of the conservative Democrats. His open affiliation with the Democratic party and his opposition to Lincoln's Republican administration thrust him into constant feuds with Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* and William Cullen Bryant's *New York Evening Post*.[36] By the end of 1863, after a financial merger with the *Albany Argus*, Manton Marble had made the *World* an organ of the Democratic party.

Marble's predisposition for party support was rooted in the mentality that had established and sustained the party press for the first half of the century—for a newspaper to survive, it *must* adopt a partisan stance. Horace Greeley wrote to *New York Times* founder Henry J. Raymond in 1840, eleven years before Raymond started the *Times*, telling Raymond to "attach yourself to some distinct interest in such a manner as to secure its support."[37] Greeley apparently was attempting to teach Raymond that political partisanship went hand in hand with business prospects. The same thinking drove Marble into the arms of the Democratic party and, for a little more than a de-

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32. Katz, *August Belmont*, 39–40. Included were John Anderson, prominent in the tobacco industry, Hiram Cranston, owner of the New York Hotel, and Fernando Wood, mayor of New York.
33. Katz, *August Belmont*, 117
34. Katz, *August Belmont*, 40.
35. *New York World*, 28 January 1863.
36. For instance, see the *New York World*, 20 February 1863, in which Marble's paper details "The Cause of Our Troubles," saying "the radical organs chafe excessively under the imputation that to the success of the Republican party all our present troubles, the Civil War which drenches the land with blood, are due."
37. Horace Greeley to Henry J. Raymond, 20 June 1840, Henry J. Raymond Papers, New York Public Library.

cade, proved to be good enough advice to keep the newspaper in operation.

Marble's increasing business acumen accompanied his continued rise in the Democratic party ranks during the war. By 1866 he was intimately familiar with the inner workings of the Democratic machine—a machine that depended on and demanded party loyalty. In 1868 Marble's *World* showed a profit of $127,000, a degree of financial success unheard of for a political journal of that era.[38] Consistent with the elitism of old-school partisan journalism, Marble used his newfound wealth to enter the world of New York high society, a move that became the object of some derision by his contemporaries. Journalism historian Frederic Hudson, a contemporary of Marble's, claimed that "it has become with the *World* to be the property of millionaires."[39]

Marble's associations and successes led him to a somewhat elitist view of the press and the *World*'s position in New York journalism and perhaps led to the downfall of his paper. Frank Luther Mott refers to a *Munsey's* magazine article of 1900 that claimed Marble tried to keep the circulation of the *World* of the 1870s down to twenty thousand because he believed there were only about that many intelligent readers in all of New York.[40] The 6 November 1872, pages of the *World* contained a detailed justification of its lofty self esteem, explaining that its "conductor . . . is brought into constant intercourse with the best minds of his time." Marble claimed that he had the advantages similar to those of a court "whose judgement and conscience are enlightened by having every pending case argued by astute opposing lawyers":

> Supposing him to possess a fair share of good sense and intelligence, the conductor of a public journal in a great metropolis has extraordinary facilities and assistance informing a correct judgment on most questions of general interest. If his journal speaks with an air of confidence and authority, it is not from unwarranted personal assumption, but because it is fortified by the concurring opinions of able men in the thick of affairs outside of his own profession. He possesses their wisest views and most confidential

38. Marble to August Belmont, 10 November 1873, Marble MSS, Library of Congress. It turns out that 1868 was the pinnacle of prosperity for the *World*. Its financial picture worsened consistently in the next eight years of Marble's involvement with the paper.

39. Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States: 1690–1872* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1873), 675. Hudson went on to describe his puzzlement regarding the reaffiliations of the *World*, first with its religious orientations, then when it became a "half-and-half Democratic sheet; then it swallowed two or three old Whig and Republican organs, and became more Democratic than before, even to the status of what is called a Copperhead organ in silks and satins."

40. Mott, *American Journalism*, 507.

> thoughts; and the editorial "we" implies that he is the vehicle for putting into language and addressing to the public the sifted result of much valuable thinking and suggestion outside of his own peculiar walk.[41]

Years after Marble left the paper, former *World* staff members, such as St. Clair McKelway (himself a proponent of independent journalism), accused Marble of trying to make the *World* into an organ for an elite political class, thus eliminating its chance for popular appeal and ultimately dooming it to commercial failure.[42]

McJimsey points out that Marble's association with the upper-echelon conservative Democrats not only put him in a position of power and financial stability, but also put him in the position of subservience to the financiers of the *World* enterprise. In 1874 New York Governor Samuel J. Tilden, a man who usually gave much support, both financial and political, to Marble and the *World*, on one occasion went so far as to refuse a loan to the *World* because the paper "did not fill the requirement of the party."[43]

Nevertheless, the *World* did, on occasion, attempt to assert the independence that it declared in 1867. In the presidential campaign of 1868, the *World* demanded that the party's vice-presidential candidate withdraw, and in 1870 it went after the Tweed Ring. McJimsey points out, however, that the episodes of independent action did not benefit the *World* in terms of prestige or popularity, but actually alienated powerful supporters and "seriously damaged the paper's financial condition."[44] On 2 January 1868, after a disappointing party loss to Grant, the *World* announced again that it intended to be both Democratic and "independent" in politics.[45] In a 13 May 1869, letter from prominent New York Democrat William Cassidy, Marble's persistent attack on the Tweed Ring brought this criticism:

> Perhaps it is the highest office of journalism to stand aloof and above and independent of, parties and sects and events—and to turn opinion into wholesome channels. But this tone is incompatible with party devotion, or with association with other journals. It [results in] comparative isolation. You must expect adverse critics. Your old associates must be compelled to disclaim your opinions, when they dissent from them; and to deny your leadership.[46]

Such sentiment epitomized the partisan mentality that was to

41. *New York World*, 6 November 1872.
42. McJimsey, *Genteel Partisan*, 97.
43. McJimsey, *Genteel Partisan*, 78.
44. McJimsey, *Genteel Partisan*, 99.
45. McJimsey, *Genteel Partisan*, 134.
46. McJimsey, *Genteel Partisan*, 137.

engage as well as frustrate Marble throughout his journalistic career. Marble felt more than harsh verbal blows in retaliation for his insolence. Profits began falling in 1869; advertising in the *World*, both corporate and political, dropped to the lowest figures in the paper's history.[47] Marble's flirtations with independence were beginning to cause problems for his business.

The Liberal Republican movement in 1872 represented the first and only time a third party in American history possessed enough strength to compel one of the two major parties (the Democrats) to endorse and nominate its candidate for president.[48] Journalistically and ideologically, the Liberal Republican movement represented the first systematic exploration of the idea of independence. For Marble and the *World*, the movement represented a chance for Democrats to observe from a distance the Liberal Republican's struggle for legitimacy and quest for a suitable candidate. It also provided Marble and the *World* with the task of showing its true political colors while commenting on the Liberal Republicans' disastrous nomination of Horace Greeley—a task that Marble took to with vigor.

Though by 1872 Marble was deeply involved in the machinery of the Democratic party, he wholeheartedly supported the Liberal Republican movement that was spawned by disenchanted Republicans in 1871–72. He considered the call of Schurz, Godkin, Trumbull, Bowles, and others for their own presidential nominating convention in Cincinnati in May 1872 to be rightfully inspired by the growing disgust with Grant's administration and the ineptitudes of the Republican political machine.

Marble was adamant, however, that the Democrats should avoid direct involvement in the Cincinnati convention, that they should act merely as "spectators," and that they should leave the convention and the nomination up to the Republican defectors.[49] Marble favored the nomination of Charles Francis Adams and claimed that Adams would make a "most able, respectable, upright, and independent President," and that Democrats would have "less to defend or apologize for" in supporting him for office.[50] Marble came under fire from other Democrats because of his forthright endorsement of Adams and the Liberal Republican convention.[51] Marble thought Adams's pros-

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47. McJimsey, *Genteel Partisan*, 142. McJimsey points out that after Marble made peace with Tweed in the middle of 1870, corporate advertising rose to nearly double its previous high. However, all other aspects of the business continued to decline. As McJimsey says, "Independence, it seemed, exacted a high price."
48. Richard Allan Gerber, "The Liberal Republicans of 1872 in Historiographical Perspective" *Journal of American History* 62 (June 1975): 40. Also see Earle Dudley Ross, *The Liberal Republican Movement* (New York: Henry Holt, 1919).
49. *New York World*, 21 March and 16 April 1872.
50. *New York World*, 29 April 1872.
51. *New York World*, 30 April 1872.

pects for success were good; however, on 4 May came the news that Greeley had grabbed the nomination from Adams. Marble was frank in his reaction, stating that "Mr. Greeley is not our choice, and we regret his nomination."[52]

Horrified by the nomination of his long-time journalistic rival and founder and editor of the *New York Tribune*, Marble undertook his own campaign against Greeley in an attempt to prevent his Democratic compatriots from accepting the Liberal Republican nomination willy nilly. "The World stands firmly by the time-honored usages of the Democratic party," the editorial pages of the *World* read just three days after the Cincinnati convention.[53] And in the following weeks Marble spoke out against any Democrats willing to support Greeley, and, according to Marble's own account, the *World* incurred the wrath of many rural Democratic papers because of its outspoken unwillingness to support the Liberal Republican ticket of Greeley and Brown.[54]

But Marble did not back down. In early June an article appeared in the *World* titled "The Cowardice and Folly of Democratic Surrender to Greeley," which clearly condemned the result at Cincinnati.[55] And by mid-June he was calling for a true Democratic nomination at Baltimore in July.[56] "The great mistake of the Greeley Democrats," the pages of the *World* read on 25 June, "consists in their confidence in party machinery. They absurdly think that everything is accomplished if they can get Greeley nominated at Baltimore."[57] Claiming that he did not believe there would be a bolt, Marble went so far as to say that if there should arise a chance of a successful bolt from the nomination of Greeley, "it can count on our zealous co-operation."[58]

Marble was obviously becoming frustrated with his Democratic peers who believed that simply because Greeley had Liberal Republican support, which was far from universal, he was a viable Democratic candidate for president. Ironically, Marble was continually coming under fire from other Democratic organs because he supported a traditional Democratic nomination for president.

His frustration with these Democratic party papers was most clearly expressed just a week before the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore in a 2 July article titled "Party Politics and the Public Press."[59] Marble stated that "the World scorns

52. *New York World*, 4 May 1872.
53. *New York World*, 7 May 1872.
54. *New York World*, 15, 17, 25 May 1872.
55. *New York World*, 4 June 1872
56. *New York World*, 18 June 1872.
57. *New York World*, 25 June 1872.
58. *New York World*, 25 June 1872.
59. Though there is no direct attribution, the tone of the article is clearly consistent with Marble's distaste for the brand of journalism that did not speak to his own high-minded political principles.

the petty, servile critics who have arraigned its course and impugned its motives since the preposterous action of the Cincinnati Convention." He undertook to explain that these "small critics, at once insolent and servile, seem to have no conception of the great change which has come over the spirit of American journalism within the last twenty years."[60] The "old" idea of political journals, Marble explained, was that they were "mere lackeys who wore the livery of party chiefs, dependent on their patrons and bound to obey orders on penalty of dismissal." However, according to Marble, things had changed and "vigorous, healthy journals of both parties despise and loathe this degrading standard of their duties." The emancipation of journalists, Marble wrote, was not unlike the emancipation of the authors of books, who used to depend solely on their patrons for success. "That humiliating era is long since past," Marble wrote, claiming that the "spread of intelligence" and the "great enlargement" of the reading public have made authors independent of patrons. "They depend upon nothing but their ability to interest the reading public, and have long since ceased to appeal to any other tribunal." Political journalism, according to Marble, was "just beginning to tread on the edge of a similar independence; but, except in rare instances, it has not yet acquired the confidence and self-assertion which it is justly entitled to assume."[61]

Marble took exception to the criticisms of these "multitudes of petty journals" that relied on the "servile resource" of political patronage, and spurned the "small fry of minor journals that have erected themselves into judges of our course during the last two months, while we have been expressing our honest, independent convictions on interesting public movements." Taking a superior position to these critics, Marble explained:

> It is of no sort of consequence to the pecuniary prosperity of THE WORLD whether it supports GREELEY or opposes him. It is as free, in this respect, as the head of a great dry-goods house, like STEWART'S, or the great express company presided over by FARGO. We could oppose GREELEY throughout the canvass without losing business or subscribers; and if we should finally conclude to support him, it will make no difference in our prosperity as a public journal. We are quite as independent in our politics as a great tobacconist, or a great oil merchant, who is secure in an established business, and disdains all party trammels that do not accord with his own convictions.[62]

Marble claimed that the *World* was not alone in its "independence of vulgar party trammels." "Bad as we think the Cin-

60. *New York World*, 2 July 1872.
61. *New York World*, 2 July 1872.
62. *New York World*, 2 July 1872.

cinnati movement in its results," Marble explained, "we nevertheless rejoice in it for the striking demonstration it has given of the superiority of the great journals of the country to party dictation," Marble said. "The fact that their views cross those of the herd of office-seekers and party wire-pullers, is of the slightest possible consequence to these established journals, which laugh at the feeble organs that are not yet emancipated from the old dictation of the temporary party chiefs, whom independent journals can make and unmake."[63] Such was Marble's publicized view of political independence. Ironically, though, he was soon to fall back into the party fold because his own newspaper lacked the financial and political support of a broad readership that it needed to maintain an independent course. He did not give up without a fight, however.

Marble's opposition to a Democratic nomination of Greeley came to no avail. By 8 July Marble had gotten word that it was the intent of the delegates at Baltimore to nominate Horace Greeley as the Democratic candidate for president, a move difficult for Marble to swallow.

> Such a feat of deglutition will be performed at Baltimore tomorrow or next day, when the Democratic party will gulp down Mr. Greeley; and as this amazing meal has been decided on, we can only wish the Democratic party a happy digestion. The World will contribute no slime to give the animal a slippery passage down the throat of the devourer; but when the thing is done, it will do whatever may be in its power to aid the digestion, and prevent the Democratic party going into torpid and prolonged stupor by reason of the heavy load upon its stomach. We trust there may be vigor enough in the party to digest this monstrous meal, and come forth afterwards "as well as can be expected."[64]

Once again, Marble was in a tight spot where party policy and his own political ideas were concerned. He made no effort to conceal his disgust with Greeley as a presidential candidate for the Democratic party, yet he also pledged his willingness to attempt to keep the Democratic party together and secure victory in November. Marble revised his stance immediately following the Baltimore convention. "Although we should have

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63. *New York World*, 2 July 1872. Marble listed the *New York Tribune*, *Cincinnati Commercial*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *Springfield Republican* as being journals that were "among the best types of our recent journalism." "Relying on other sources of prosperity than party patronage, they have felt no hesitation in kicking over the party traces; and they are even more secure of readers than if they had servilely obeyed the behests of temporary party chiefs." Marble closed the lengthy article saying that the most encouraging sign of the times "is the defiant independence of party dictation recently exhibited by the more important American journals."
64. *New York World*, 8 July 1872.

preferred others, we have no hesitation in saying that we think them altogether preferable to the corrupt office holders' Philadelphia ticket."[65] And such was to be Marble's rationale for supporting Greeley during the remaining months of the presidential canvass—Greeley and his ragtag band of Republican defectors and Democratic hopefuls over Grant and his corrupt Republican "office-seekers and wire-pullers."[66]

The Democratic nomination of Greeley put Marble in a difficult position. He had preached for months about the advantages and preference for political independence, yet he was being called upon by his party to support a candidate he did not believe to be fit for office as a representative of the Democratic party. His hands were tied, and, in his own words stated as much. "The World is, of course, bound by its reiterated pledges and promises, and by its sense of fidelity to the Democratic party, to acquiesce in what was done yesterday at Baltimore."[67]

Marble's reluctant support of Greeley put him in opposition to the Republican journals that had been preaching independence before Greeley's nomination, but upon the outcome of the Cincinnati convention went back to the Republican party fold. E. L. Godkin's *Nation* was one such journal. Marble took exception to Godkin's unwillingness to stick to his initial commitment to unseat Grant and the Radical Republicans. Marble used the *Nation* as a counterexample, to illustrate the unwavering political temperament of the *World* and the Democratic party. In an 11 August article titled "The Constant Principles in Our Politics," Marble mocked the *Nation*'s refusal to support Greeley: "It is instructive to observe that the 'independent journalists' who a few months ago thought there ought to be some 'reform in party management,' but who have recently relapsed into the support of the present Administration, are very far from resting easily on the bed that has been made for them."[68]

In the weeks following Marble wrote about the consistency of Democratic policies and principles, yet at the same time his newspaper constantly supported the Greeley/Brown ticket.[69] And by 31 October the *World*'s opposition to Greeley had not only faded away completely, but also had been replaced by the assertion that it was the "duty" of all Democrats to vote for Greeley.[70] Gone for many weeks from the pages of the *World* were criticisms of Greeley's candidacy and the assertions of the *World*'s independence. Marble had obviously resigned himself to the reality of Greeley's bid for office and devoted him-

65. *New York World*, 10 July 1872.
66. *New York World*, 2 July 1872.
67. *New York World*, 11 July 1872.
69. *New York World*, 11 August 1872.
70. *New York World*, 27 September and 15, 19, 28, 30 October 1872.
71. *New York World*, 31 October 1872.

self to the defeat of Grant and the Republicans.[71]

Greeley's defeat in November was no surprise to Marble, and in Marble's eyes Greeley's nomination amounted to a "miscalculation and blunder"[72] on the part of the Democratic party. Marble was quick to point out, however, that even though the Democrats were not able to defeat Grant, the *World*, under Marble's direction, remained editorially faithful to the Democratic party. Talk of independence had, after the election, turned to boasts of party loyalty, claiming that the *World* had supported Greeley with the "same zeal and steadiness" it would have given to a true Democratic candidate. In the *World* appeared this revealing assessment of the whole debacle:

> We loyally surrendered our own judgement to the decision of the Democratic National Convention, and tried to carry with us the protesting members of the party whose views we had shared previous to the nomination. We have always thought it more important to preserve the unity and uphold the discipline of the Democratic party than to secure its support for any candidate of our preference. We have always felt that the best part of our work as a public journal, and an organ of Democratic opinion, consisted in enlightening and educating the public sentiment of the party during the intervals between our great quadrennial contests for the control of the Federal Government. When regular nominations have been fairly made by the authorized representatives of the party, we have held ourselves bound by them, and have thought it our duty to stand by and support them with honest zeal to the best of our ability, postponing further attempts to educate the party until the immediate contest is decided. We conceive that our rule of action is similar to that of military commanders who take unwearied pains to improve the discipline of their troops in the intervals between engagements, but only aim to handle them to the best advantage in battle, regarding the work of drill-sergeants as an obstructive impertinence in the presence of the enemy.[73]

After the Liberal Republican/Democrats' defeat in November 1872, Marble realized the need for party loyalty in challenging Republican political dominance. In the days immediately following the election he argued repeatedly for a restora-

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72. *New York World*, 4 November 1872. "Whether Mr. Greeley's nomination was originally the best that could have been made, has long ceased to be a practical question."
73. *New York World*, 7 November 1872.
74. *New York World*, 6 November 1872.
75. *New York World*, 7 November 1872.

tion and revitalization of "Democratic principles."[74] In Marble's opinion, the nomination of Greeley was a "tremendous blunder on grounds of principle, because the whole political philosophy of the candidate was an insulting rebuke to the cherished ideas of the Democratic party."[75] "In plain language, we must reunite all who held Democratic doctrines before the Republican party was formed, and reinforce them by the numerous recent converts to the same order of economic and political ideas. To accomplish this we must drop mere partisanship and discuss principles. First, the quarry men, then the architect; first believers, then the church."[76]

Marble's biographer claims that by fall 1873, Marble had given up political independence altogether and made no further attempts in that direction during his remaining years at the *New York World*.[77] His zealous support of Tilden for both the governorship in 1874 and the presidential nomination in 1876 signalled his reduction from the once mighty Marble to a mere party functionary. To add salt to his political wounds, Marble's paper was losing money at a disastrous rate.

Marble was intent on saving the paper throughout the following years of financial crisis. The *World* was clearly suffering from the fierce competition of the several other prominent dailies in New York City. Publisher Nathan Bangs wrote a note to Marble early in 1873 declaring yet another dismal month in the accounting books, adding, "It is simply awful—what the devil are the Times and Tribune doing if they have not cut down expenditures?"[78]

Marble was convinced that an increase in circulation was the boost that the paper needed. He detailed a proposal to publisher Bangs and to financier and prominent Democrat August Belmont to expand the dimensions of the newspaper to make it as large as the *Times* and the *Tribune*.[79] In an appeal to Belmont for the money needed to make the conversion, Marble revealed what he thought were the causes of and the solutions to his "politico-financial" problems at hand. Claiming that the *World* "has suffered along with the Democratic party in diminished prosperity," Marble recounted his reasoning for not reducing expenditures in the face of ever-increasing losses, saying that "I have no ambition dearer than its [the *World*'s] prosperity and usefulness":

> We have had to hold our breath and paddle along quietly since '68. There has been no heart or hope in the Democratic party. The Trib [sic] and Times have

76. *New York World*, 9 November 1872.
77. *New York World*, 15 November 1872. See also *New York World*, 16 November 1872.
78. McJimsey, *Genteel Partisan*, 164.
79. Bangs to Marble, 8 January 1873, Marble MSS.
80. For a biography of Belmont, see Katz, *August Belmont*.

> had the tide with them. We rowed against it. Now is the World's opportunity. Success in seizing it does not depend on the party's success. It depends upon the party's having a hope and seeing a chance of success. A vigorous live minority party is really as good a basis for a paper's prosperity as a majority party. . . . With one year of such prosperity as we had in 1868 I could pay off $50,000 of debt and double my personal expenses of any year since 1864.[80]

Belmont refused to help Marble with the expansion project. Humbled, Marble revised his characterization of the *World*'s situation as one of "deficiency in needful capital," primarily resulting from "people not paying to the paper what they owed."[81]

The *World* was on its way down, and Marble, because of his dependence on party members who refused to support him, did not possess the financial or political wherewithal to bail his own business out of trouble. In 1875 Marble renewed his campaign to expand the *World* to make it competitive with the *Tribune* and the *Times*. Again appealing to Belmont for help, he laid down what he thought to be the bottom line claiming that "the World cannot maintain its rank, or advance its place (if Democrats succeed in 1876) as it might and should, unless it gives as much pork for the shilling as any other paper."[82] Marble was convinced that he could not count on a significant increase in advertising, blaming the *Herald* for monopolizing "that branch of advertising which increases with hard times." Remembering the financial triumphs of 1868, the *World*'s most profitable year, Marble lamented the lack of a party filled with zeal and hope. "Never before has [the *World*] been the voice of a victorious majority."[83]

Advocating that the *World* go "out to meet the situation," he reflected on the advent of "independent papers," obviously not considering his own paper to be one of them, saying that they were "in the nature of the case nearer and sharper rivals of the paper which represents the dominant political sentiment than of the same paper representing the minority sentiment." At the conclusion of his lengthy appeal to Belmont, Marble admitted that if the Democrats were to be defeated in 1876 and his plan to resuscitate the paper fails, "I can pocket the loss, sell the paper to the best customer among the railroad men or stockjobbers who are always nibbling and who can make plenty of money out of it in ways that I should despise myself if I stooped

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81. Draft of letter from Marble to August Belmont, dated 1–10 November, 1873, Marble MSS.
82. Marble to Belmont, November 1873, Marble MSS.
83. Draft of letter Marble to Belmont, 30 June 1875, Marble MSS.
84. Marble to Belmont, 30 June 1875, Marble MSS.
85. Marble to Belmont, 30 June 1875, Marble MSS.

to, pay my debts, ask you to invest the balance for me in the safest possible way and live peaceably and comfortably the rest of my days on $20,000 or $30,000 a year."[84] Finally, Marble asked Belmont for $125,000 to put the plan into effect.[85] Citing losses in his own business and a generally bad financial and political outlook for the coming year, Belmont politely refused to come up with such a monstrous sum but offered to throw in a share of twenty thousand dollars if matched by Tilden, O'Conor, and Barlow.[86]

In June 1875 the *World* lost more than ten thousand dollars, bringing the total loss for the year to almost thirty-two thousand dollars.[87] In August, Bangs wrote to Marble that "Things don't seem to improve any," citing a loss of almost ten thousand dollars for July.[89] After an even greater loss in August, Marble secretly put the *World* up for sale in September. The first potential buyers to appear were Stilson Hutchins and Montrose Pallen of the *St. Louis Times*. Marble was obviously not intent on selling to the Missouri men as he set the price at six hundred thousand dollars (five hundred thousand cash and one hundred thousand credit).[89] By 20 October, the negotiations had fallen through.

Even though Tilden and O'Conor agreed to put up money to finance the improvements in the *World*, Belmont eventually backed out, leaving Marble to his own devices to save the paper. In response to Belmont's refusal to put up the money, Marble outlined a more conservative strategy, which consisted of "improving the paper in all departments," and "to advertise it all over the country as well as within 30 miles of the City Hall,"

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86. Marble to Belmont, 30 June 1875, Marble MSS.
87. Belmont to Marble, 30 June 1875, Marble MSS.
88. Bangs to Marble, 9 July 1875, Marble MSS.
89. Bangs to Marble, 10 August 1875, Marble MSS.
90. Marble to Dr. Montrose A. Pallen, 9 September 1875, Marble MSS. Marble still expressed hope, at least as a shrewd businessman, in a 9 September letter to Pallen:

"Your offer of any lower price, based on your valuation, I wished it to be understood that I should require a few days to consider; for my aversion increases to retiring on the eve of a party victory, and to selling just before a year whose single profits will be 1/4 @ 1/3 the outside valuation, whichever party wins.

"I rely entirely upon your and Mr. Hutchins good faith to protect me from even the rumor of a consent to sell at ANY price."

91. Marble to Belmont, 11 September 1875, Marble MSS. In October 1875 Marble drafted a letter to the Democrats of all districts which read:

"The bearer _____ is duly authorized to receive orders for the World newspaper, and I trust that every man in your district . . . will now subscribe for it. Besides being a first class newspaper, in all respects, The World is the leading organ of the Hard Money, Free Trade, Home Rule, Reform Democracy of New York and the United States.

"You will aid in securing Democratic victories in the city state and nation by subscribing yourself and asking your friends to subscribe for the World— thus correcting the many misrepresentations of anti-democratic papers and increasing the circulation of democratic intelligence."

and to reduce its price from four to three cents as soon as practicable, "which would be the feature of the outburst of advertising."[90]

Grand schemes for profit aside, Marble was still operating much as a bought-and-paid-for party organ. Marble's zealous support of Tilden for president did not further endear him to Belmont, who wanted the nomination to go to Delaware Senator Thomas F. Bayard.[91] Marble's business was still suffering horribly. September saw the loss of $12,977, the biggest so far in 1875.[92] By early 1876 Marble undertook new negotiations to sell the *World*, this time with his long-time co-worker and friend, William H. Hurlbert, who was by then the only one of the original editors still with the paper. With the backing of Thomas A. Scott of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and many offers and counter offers, Marble finally accepted $100,000 cash and $150,000 in railroad bonds for his *World*.

The new proprietor of the *World* waited more than a month to confirm that such a transaction had taken place, and he acted only then because news of the transfer from Marble to Hurlbert appeared in the *New York Sun* on 22 May 1876.

> To the public a change has for some time been suggested in the altered political tone of the paper. The exclusive devotion to the nomination of Governor Tilden at St. Louis, which was an unvarying characteristic under Mr. Marble's management, has disappeared, and while no unkindness or injustice is now shown toward the Governor, the possibilities of other candidates are more favorably considered. Moreover, the advocacy of Free Trade, which Mr. Marble never intermitted for a day, assumes in Mr. Hurlburt's hands a less conspicuous and less pertinacious quality.[93]

And so with the transaction came the end of a political journalism career that had elevated a man and his newspaper from obscurity to prominence in the Democratic party and American journalism. Marble stayed active in politics after his departure from the *World*. Even after Tilden's questionable defeat in the presidential election of 1876, Marble's "ambition, determination, and fighting spirit" were as strong as ever.[94] Marble remained politically active until his final days. He died in the summer of 1917 at age 82.

Manton Marble's tenure at the *New York World* illustrates several developments that were integral to the rise of independent newspapers and the decline of partisan journalism during the latter third of the nineteenth century.

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92. *New York World*, 6 January 1876; Katz, *August Belmont*, 218.
93. Bangs to Marble, 14 October 1875, Marble MSS.
94. Reprinted in the *New York World*, 22 May 1876.
95. McJimsey, *Genteel Partisan*, 202.

First, Marble and his *World* serve as an example of the changing nature of party politics and increasing financial pressures faced by most newspaper editors. Under Marble's direction, the *World*, as with many other newspapers of the era, spent its early years attempting to get its feet on the ground financially. In the case of the *World*, the newspaper had to go through several political reaffiliations: it was founded as an independent conservative religious paper (with expressed Whig tendencies); then its editors abandoned the paper's religious character and merged with the *New York Courier and Enquirer*; then the editors brought it in line with Lincoln and the unionists; then, on the brink of extinction, Marble purchased the *World* and soon was forced to solicit support from the leading Democrats of New York to keep the newspaper running. Marble's biographer paints these early years as having been full of desperate financial situations and desperate solutions. Marble's moves indicate the malleability of political affiliation in the face of financial pressure and suggest that he tried to gain financial security through political identification—a strategy deeply rooted in traditional views of newspaper/party relationships. Marble eventually rationalized his devotion to the Democratic party, but his move to the Democratic ranks was anything but a decision based on political principle.[95] During Marble's early years as editor of the *World*, he apparently made little effort to create an economic environment in which he could operate independent of party influence; instead, he chose, first to seek the support of the Republicans, and second, to ally himself with the Democrats politically and, most importantly, financially.

Second, the *World* under Marble's direction serves as a good example of the party tensions created by the Liberal Republican movement of 1872 and the movement's importance in the articulation and realization of independent ideals in American journalism. Trying to function as a Democratic journal, the *World* found itself in the precarious position of steering party policy while, at the same time, under Marble's direction going against the tide of pro-Greeley Democratic sentiment. It is interesting that the newspaper's return to the unwavering service of the Democratic party after the Baltimore convention and the eventual defeat of Greeley coincided with the beginnings of the financial problems that eventually drove Marble out of business. The nation as a whole was in dire straits following the financial crisis of 1873. But apparently Marble's political conduct during the Liberal Republican debacle and his support of the Democratic party generally, and his support of Tilden for governor in 1874 and president in 1876 specifically, was becoming less and less appealing to the mass of readers in the 1870s. His paper enjoyed its greatest year of profitability in 1868, facing fierce

96. McJimsey, *Genteel Partisan*, 32.

competition from the *Herald*, *Times*, *Tribune*, and many others. In the years following, however, profits dropped dramatically until the paper was operating at a deficit of almost ten thousand dollars a month. The first perceivable move on the part of Marble's successor was to shy away from the *World*'s previously enthusiastic support of Tilden and essentially depoliticize the newspaper and offer a less political and more well-rounded informational sheet.[96]

Third, Marble himself saw the threat that a more independent type of journalism posed to the newspapers such as his that were seeking reader support while at the same time attempting to direct party policy.[97] Perhaps it was this realization more than any other that finally prompted Marble to abandon his financially failing newspaper enterprise and devote his energies to politics, not to political journalism, for the remaining years of his life.

Overall, the story of Marble and his direction of the *World* from 1862 to 1876 clearly illustrates the increasing tensions between the residual mentality of party journalism and the emergent ideals of political independence. Marble was a man caught on the fence—financially he depended on sources that required more political loyalty than he could muster. Ideologically, Marble had difficulty reconciling his desire for editorial independence with the emerging model of mass-appeal journalism that was sustaining most of the new independent newspapers. Marble wanted to operate an independent political journal under a partisan model. It didn't work.

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97. See *New York World*, 22 May 1876.
98. Marble to Belmont, 30 June 1875, Marble MSS, Library of Congress.

"THIS PAPER IS OWNED BY MANY THOUSANDS OF WORKINGMEN AND WOMEN"

Contradictions of a Socialist Daily

Jon Bekken

This paper is not like any other. . . . This paper is owned by many thousands of workingmen and women who have established it and invested thousands of dollars in it, not because they expect to receive profits, but because they realize that only by getting the truth about present society to their fellow workers can that society be changed so as to bring better conditions to those who produce all wealth.[1]

FROM 25 OCTOBER 1906 through 4 December 1912, Chicago socialists maintained a daily newspaper which, they believed, was unlike any other English-language newspaper then being published anywhere in the world. The *Chicago Daily Socialist* boasted that it was the world's first English-language socialist newspaper (in fact it was preceded by the Socialist Labor party's *Daily People*), and the only daily dedicated to the interests of Chicago's (and the world's) working class. The paper proclaimed that it not only supported workers in their struggles—it was written, edited, owned, and controlled by them.

Party members and local unions responded with resolutions of support, purchases of *Chicago Daily Socialist* bonds, subscriptions, and contributions. Despite prodigious investment of time and resources, however, the daily hovered on the brink of extinction until it finally collapsed under the weight of a dramatic expansion occasioned by the Chicago Newspaper Trust's 1912 lockout of union pressmen, which prompted a sympathy strike by drivers, stereotypers, and newsboys.[2] Throughout the daily's

1. "Talking about Our Paper," *Chicago Daily Socialist*, 19 February 1909 (henceforth *CDS*; *Daily* and *Daily Socialist* are used interchangeably in the text)
2. Frank Girard and Ben Perry, *The Socialist Labor Party* (Philadelphia:Livra Books 1991), 89; Philip Taft, "The Limits of Labor Unity: The Chicago Newspaper Strike of 1912," *Labor History* 19 (#1 1978): 100–129; J. O. Bentall, "Who Killed *Chicago Daily World?*" *International Socialist Review* 13 (January 1913): 557–60.

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troubled existence Chicago socialists struggled to define the proper relationship between the party and its press, and to resolve the difficult question of how to attract and hold a readership accustomed to commercial dailies, while holding fast to socialist principles.

In retrospect, it seems clear that the *Daily Socialist* never fully realized its professed goals. While readers and the Socialist party exerted strong influence upon the daily's editorial stance, they never controlled its management. The paper was not written by its readers, for the most part, though it certainly was more open to their contributions than were other newspapers of the day. Nor could the Socialist party always rely upon the *Daily* to convey party information to its readers, or to reflect party policy towards the labor movement. And the *Daily Socialist* was unable to resolve contradictions intrinsic to operating an alternative model of jounalism within a capitalist newspaper ecology and its economic constraints. Yet both the Party and rank-and-file readers clearly believed that a socialist paper (and the *Daily Socialist* in particular) *should* be controlled by the party, and ought to relate to its working-class readers in a manner fundamentally different from that of the capitalist dailies it competed with. As one editor put it, "I have a faint recollection that the editor (your humble servant) was just a little surprised that the social revolution did not break out on the morning after the first edition was launched on an unsuspecting world. But plutocracy has stood the shock."[3]

The first issue of the *Daily Socialist* appeared 25 October 1906, continuing the Cook County Socialist party's weekly *Chicago Socialist*. Prominently displayed on page 1 was an editorial entitled "This Paper Is for Working Men and Women":

> THEREFORE it is against capitalists. BECAUSE the interests of the employers or capitalists are just exactly opposite to the interests . . . of working people. . . . All the daily papers published in Chicago are for capitalism. . . . No daily newspaper in America is in favor of ending the present capitalist system, excepting this paper. . . . The *Chicago Daily Socialist* alone wants labor to free itself from its chains.[4]

The *Daily* struggled with twenty to thirty thousand readers for five-and-a-half years, until the 1912 newspaper lockout enabled it to boost circulation to three hundred thousand copies under a new name (the morning and evening *World*). Seven months later the *Daily* announced "In all probability today's issue . . . will be the last."[5] It never published another issue,

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3. A. M. Simons, "Brief History of the *Chicago Socialist*," *Chicago Socialist*, 6 May 1905, 8.
4. "This Paper Is for Working Men and Women," *CDS*, 25 October 1906.
5. *Chicago Evening World*, 4 December 1912, 1.

though the socialists soon launched the weekly *Workers' World* to fill the void.

Chicago's working class had long published labor journals as part of efforts to develop and sustain its own cultural institutions and to encourage greater solidarity and class cohesion. In 1886 the Knights of Labor published a short-lived English-language daily, though it quickly retreated to weekly publication. Cook County's Socialist party launched a four-page weekly paper, the *Workers' Call* (later *Chicago Socialist*), in 1899. Party members continued to develop often-detailed plans to resume a daily English-language paper for several years following the *Daily Socialist*'s collapse, but were unable to secure the necessary resources.[6] And in 1918 the Chicago Federation of Labor called for a labor party and a daily newspaper "published in the interests of all the workers . . . to expose the Trust Press and the vested interests they represent and to keep labor informed as to its welfare."[7]

Better established was Chicago's foreign-language labor press, supported by a rich array of working-class ethnic institutions. In 1906, when the *Daily Socialist* began publication, two other working-class dailies (and several weeklies) were published in Chicago: the German anarchist *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and the Czech socialist *Spravedlnost*. The next year the *Daily Socialist* reported that Chicago socialists published three dailies (in English, Czech, and Polish), three weeklies (German, Danish, and Slovak), a Hungarian-language semi-monthly, and three English-language socialist magazines—and that Chicago's Jewish socialists would soon launch their own organ. "The socialist press," it argued, "is at once a test of activity and strength, a measure of propaganda done and of the power and the willingness of the Socialists to sacrifice and to work for their cause."[8]

For most of its existence, the *Daily Socialist* prided itself on being a different kind of newspaper—a newspaper that not only represented and defended the interests of the working class, but which was financed, published, and often written by the workers themselves. Workers were invited not merely to promote the paper among their friends and coworkers, but to write for it as well. In the very first issue, the *Daily* announced that it would secure its news from a staff of thirty thousand volunteer reader/reporters. The announcement, the editors recalled, was "greeted with derisive comments by the big capitalist dailies. . . . Today the news brought in by its corps of volunteer

6. See, for example, minutes of the Cook County Delegate Committee for 26 December 1913, 9 July 1917, and 6 February 1919. Cook County Socialist Party Papers, University of Illinois at Chicago.

7. John Fitzpatrick and E. N. Nockels, letter to Chicago Federation of Labor affliates, 20 November 1918. Fitzpatrick Papers box 7, Chicago Historical Society.

8. "The Socialist Press of Chicago," *CDS*, 15 June 1907, 4.

correspondents has made the *Daily Socialist* the brightest and most original newspaper in the country."[9] The paper received articles and letters, enough poetry "to fill almost the entire paper each day," and large packs of clippings with requests that rebuttals be published in the paper. Space, they explained, precluded using much of the latter—suggesting that readers respond directly to the papers involved.[10]

The lead editorial in the 8 February 1907 edition offered "Suggestions to the Staff." Readers were urged to focus on news reports and to keep their contributions to two hundred words if at all possible. Even with the high prices enforced by the paper trust, the editor cajoled, paper remained cheap enough to leave ample margins. "The *Daily Socialist* has the largest staff of writers and helpers of any newspaper in the world," he concluded—its readers.[11] The paper also opened its columns to socialist and union locals: "At all times, and during strikes particularly, the *Daily Socialist* invites labor unions to write their own copy and send it to the paper. It is published exactly as written. This does not apply to Chicago alone. Any labor union in any part of the country is invited to do the same."[12]

Yet Chicago socialists were often dissatisfied with the paper's editorial policies. Many had opposed the new daily, fearing it would divert funds and attention from campaigning and other party activities. But the party was persuaded to donate the weekly *Socialist* and its assets to the newly formed Workers' Publishing Society (a joint-stock co-operative established by the *Daily*'s promoters) on the understanding that the party would control the daily. Soon afterwards, socialists "discovered that they had been misled by juggled books and stock jobbing tactics that J. P. Morgan might have envied, [and] began a long and bitter battle to regain control of the newspaper property."[13] The Workers' Publishing Society was modeled after the publishing cooperatives that issued the Socialist party's often-successful foreign-language papers; these cooperatives offered a means of retaining movement control while more closely tying readers to the newspaper and raising needed funds from the party faithful and sympathetic organizations (which could be

9. "A Call to the '30,000,'" *CDS*, 21 January 1908, 1.
10. "Suggestions to Contributors," *CDS*, 7 March 1908, 4.
11. "Some Suggestions to the Staff," *CDS*, 8 February 1907, 4.
12. H. G. Creel, "The Hustlers' Column," *CDS*, 25 August 1909, 3. The comment was preceded by the news that Chicago Gas Fitters' Association Local 250 had bought a one hundred dollar *CDS* bond.
13. Robert Huston, "A. M. Simons and the American Socialist Movement" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1965), 178. The Thomas Morgan papers at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign contain extensive documentation of party efforts to gain control of the paper, resulting in a compromise in which a controlling block of WPS stock was set aside for the local party, to be redeemed through purchase or the sale of subscriptions.
14. Paul Buhle, "German Socialists and the Roots of American Working-Class

persuaded to buy shares and bonds).[14] But such cooperatives could also entrench factional control and insulate newspapers from party officials.

Although Chicago socialists could not finance the *Daily* from party coffers, they remained firmly committed to the principle of party control of the paper's business and editorial policies. In the midst of a bitter battle for control over the Workers' Publishing Society, the Socialist party's Cook County Executive Committee protested that "since the establishment of the Daily... the entire connection between the State and County as far as its news and activity is concerned is practically at a standstill." They demanded "an uncensored column for news of Party affairs. Same, if necessary, to be paid for at the regular rate."[15]

The party had owned the weekly *Chicago Socialist* outright, selected its editor by referendum vote, determined its business and editorial policies, and used the *Socialist*'s columns to promote its activities. Even with most Workers' Publishing Society stock held by party members and sympathizers, however, the party could not exercise the same level of control it had been accustomed to, since most shares were owned by individual socialists and sympathizers rather than by the party itself. When party officers solicited proxies from Workers' Publishing Society stockholders as part of its effort to establish party control, the *Daily* at first refused to publish the notice, later accepting it only as a paid advertisement. At times, the party found, they could not even rely on the *Daily Socialist* to accurately report its official positions.[16] When German-speaking socialist locals protested a favorable reference to the anarchist daily *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (which, they argued, undercut the party's

Radicalism," in *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850–1910*, ed. Hartmut Keil and John Jentz (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1983), 232.

15. Cook County Executive Committee minutes, 31 August 1907, in Morgan Papers, folder 54.

16. "Five Years Ago," *Chicago Socialist*, 27 January 1904, 2. A report prepared by Cook County Party Secretary G. T. Fraenkel, characterized the *Daily*'s organization as a coup and insisted its organizers had stolen party property. On 26 August 1907, the *Daily* refused to publish the party notice seeking nominations to serve on the WPS Board, following a 382 to 24 referendum vote to nominate a slate committed to taking control of the paper for the party. Instead the WPS published its own call for proxies. On 16 September 1907 the executive committee protested the *Daily*'s page 1 report that the party had instructed members to vote against the Municipal Court Act Amendment, when in fact the party had made no recommendation, and denounced WPS President Seymour Steadman for speaking on a platform shared by Democrats at an anti-City Charter rally "in behalf of" the party. The *Daily* was criticized for so publicizing the meeting. A copy of the report can be found in the Morgan Papers, folder 21. Party ward organizations presented resolutions calling for a complete boycott of the *Daily*, while the Workers' Publishing Society refused to comply with party instructions for the conduct of a party-endorsed benefit and insisted that all party advertising be paid for. A. M. Simons to Central Committee, 31 July 1907, Morgan Papers, folder 54.

own weekly, *Neues Leben*), the party responded that it "has no control over the news, editorial or financial policy of the paper."[17]

Party efforts to gain control over the paper and its policy continued until the end, although relations improved dramatically when the Workers' Publishing Society increased the party's ownership stake. (The dispute heated up in 1912 when the *Daily Socialist*'s management again struck out on its own.)

While the *Socialist* carried national and international news off the United Press wire for much of its life—generally dispatches ran no more than a few hundred words, though some articles ran a half-column or more—it featured extensive local news. The emphasis was on labor and political news, though there was also a strong dose of often-sensationalist human-interest stories. The daily was launched with a serialized exposé of working conditions in local department stores and a twenty-one-part argument against capital punishment by Clarence Darrow. Pages 1 and 2 were typically devoted to news; page 3 included news, advertisements (which might also appear on page 2), and features such as the sporadic women's column (which became a regular feature, running half a page or more, after 1908). Page 4 was reserved for editorials, commentary and short features such as a humor column or tables documenting the growing socialist vote around the world.

While most articles were quite brief, coverage of labor or socialist news could be extensive, particularly considering the paper's limited space. In May and June 1907, for example, nearly one-third of the news hole was devoted to coverage of the trial and acquittal of Socialist Party and IWW leader "Big Bill" Haywood. Interspersed among the articles were announcements of upcoming socialist and labor meetings, official party notices, and exhortations to readers to redouble their efforts in support of the paper. With its short articles, mix of features and news, and four-page format, the *Daily* seemed in many ways modeled on the Scripps chain of small, worker-oriented dailies.[18]

It was produced by a small editorial staff. There were five paid editorial workers in 1907, including the cartoonist, who doubled as a reporter. One of those reporters later recalled be-

17. Minutes of Cook County Central Committee, 8 August 1907, Morgan Papers, folder 54.

18. See Gerald Baldasty and Myron Jordan, "E. W. Scripps and the Newspaper Business: The Market Niche Strategy of Competition" (Paper delivered at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication convention, Minneapolis, August 1990). In *The Press and America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1988), Michael and Edwin Emery note that "the papers were low-cost afternoon dailies that relied principally on circulation revenue. . . . Scripps saved newsprint costs by insisting on small headlines and short, concisely edited stories. . . . In appearance and content they were closer to being 'labor papers' than any other general-circulation newspapers" (256–57).

ing fed stories by other newspapermen, local unionists, and party members. As a reporter, he worked closely with the party's rank and file, and witnessed first-hand the fervent support the *Socialist* received from both the immigrant and English-speaking radical communities.[19]

The 3 December 1906 edition was perhaps typical of these early issues. The front page lambasted the coal trust, the *Record-Herald* (for advertisements boosting a stock swindle), anti-union "Open Shop" drives, and court injunctions. Also on page 1 were stories on local crime, the German Social Democratic party, and other international news. Page 2 included a two-column fiction serial, a racist article protesting the hiring of Japanese workers in Hawaii, and articles on poor train service, labor and Socialist party activities, and upcoming union meetings. Two columns advertised concerns ranging from Commonwealth Edison to *Spravedlnost* to local tailors and attorneys. Page 3 reported on violent struggles by southern farmers against the tobacco trust, an initiative by the Chicago Federation of Labor for better schools, congressional activity, and assorted corporate scandals, with crime and human interest shorts to fill. Advertisements from the Socialist party and Eagle Food filled a column. Page 4 featured a cartoon and editorials on tariffs, the need for socialism, Japanese capitalism, the Russian rebellion, and utilities. Later issues contained more advertisements, and features such as market reports, a women's column (which often lambasted traditional values, arguing that women's aspirations could best be met through socialism), and a column teaching Esperanto.

In October 1907 the *Socialist* dropped its wire service to support a strike by telegraph operators. For the next two-and-a-half years (the paper resumed the United Press service in April 1910) the *Daily* relied on local reporters, correspondents from around the country (usually subscribers or Socialist party activists) and exchanges for its news coverage. This reinforced a distinctive approach to news coverage, as the paper could not hope to compete for timely accounts of national and world events (especially as correspondents were directed to use the mails to save telegraph charges). Instead, the paper focused on stories (especially labor and socialist news) ignored or misreported by their competitors, and on editorial commentary and analysis.

Such a strategy enabled the editors to concentrate their limited resources, though it implicitly accepted the *Daily Socialist*'s status as a second, supplementary newspaper. (In March 1907 the editors had recognized that most readers took two evening papers, but argued that they should consider the *Daily* their

19. Reuben Borough, "The Chicago I Remember, 1907," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 59 (Summer 1986): 117–30.
20. Huston, "A. M. Simons," 188–90; "No Apologies Needed," *CDS*, 19 March 1907.

primary paper.)[20] It was in these years—forced by the lack of a wire service to rely upon local news, correspondents, and reprints from other labor and socialist papers if it was to be anything more than a stale rehash of the prior day's news—that the *Daily Socialist* established itself as preeminently a labor paper, and during which it succeeded in building up its local circulation. Significantly, when editor Algie Simons resigned under fire in August 1910, he was succeeded by the paper's labor editor, J. L. Engdahl. (Engdahl was later called upon to edit the weekly *Chicago Socialist* from December 1917 until February 1919, when he was forced to resign by his conviction on federal charges of disrupting the war effort.[21])

By 1909 the paper featured a cleaner makeup and published six-page issues twice a week. A typical six-page weekend edition might feature reports on state and local politics, economic trends, anti-labor repression in Russia, Canadian conservation efforts, labor news, and the follies of the rich ("Play Servants Just For Fun"). Inside pages reported local and labor news, human interest shorts (with special attention to the foibles and crimes of the rich), exploitation and repression of labor and socialist movements around the world, and notices for socialist and labor meetings. A sports column had been added, and two-thirds of page 5 was devoted to the women's page, including an exposé of prison conditions, moralistic fiction, an article on the need for women to emancipate themselves, and a daily pattern sold through the paper's offices. The final page was devoted to editorials, most of which were devoted to socialist and labor campaigns.[22] The more frequent four-page editions had a similar mix of copy, but fewer advertisements; features such as the sports, business, and women's columns were compressed to fit the available space.

A muckraking crusade launched that year against Chicago corruption and vice drew criticism from many socialists as a waste of energy and a diversion from the class struggle—and a temporary embarrassment when the paper's sources declined to go public to prove the charges (prosecutors brought charges a few months later).[23] But this muckraking phase proved short-

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21. Huston, "A. M. Simons," 188-90; Cook County Executive Committee minutes, 14 December 1917 and 21 February 1919.
22. *CDS*, 2 January 1909, national edition.
23. Huston, "A. M. Simons," 188-90; Charles Kerr, editorial, *International Socialist Review* 10 (July 1909): 67–68. An example ran on 30 June 1909, under a headline that ran three lines deep across the entire front page: "Chicago Ruled By Band of Criminals; Busse Is at Head of Most Notorious Clique That Ever Pilfered a City." The editors explained the next day that they had "no desire to parade the filth of the city government of Chicago before [their] readers. . . . But today these things have become a vital part of the great evils against which we are fighting. They have become the bulwark of privilege and one of the instruments of class war and exploitation." *CDS*, "Speak Out the Truth," 1 July 1909, 1.

lived, though the paper continued to carry occasional reports on government and corporate corruption until the end. The *Daily Socialist* soon redoubled its efforts to become the city's *de facto* labor organ.

When the Chicago Federation of Labor repudiated its hitherto-official organ, the *Union Labor Advocate*, "for accepting advertising from our enemies," the *Daily Socialist* sought to replace it. The federation adopted a resolution offered by Painters Union No. 194 "thanking the *Chicago Daily Socialist* for its attitude towards and support of trade unions during strikes," but declined its offer to serve as the CFL's official organ. The federation decided instead to issue its minutes in pamphlet form. Nonetheless, the paper carried several columns of local and national labor news daily, and listings of all local union meetings. And while many unions were reluctant to become too closely associated with a socialist paper, the United Mine Workers and others became ardent supporters, sinking several thousand dollars into the paper.[24]

By August 1909, some twenty Chicago union locals had purchased Workers' Publishing Society stock and bonds (with Painters Local No. 194 alone holding seven hundred dollars in stock), and the paper proudly announced each addition to their ranks.[25] This support broadened during the 1912 newspaper lockout, and over substantial opposition the federation issued a voluntary assessment to aid the *Daily World* (as the *Daily* was then called) in recognition of "the firm stance it has always taken against organized capital, and . . . [as] the only newspaper of like circulation in Chicago that is worthy or has any claim to the confidence of organized labor."[26]

Yet even in the midst of this struggle, the paper was never fully able to overcome the mutual distrust between the Socialist party and Chicago's labor movement. While more radical union locals endorsed the *Daily Socialist* and bought shares in the Workers' Publishing Society, the paper drew frequent criticism from Chicago Federation of Labor officials—especially for its opposition to the CFL's political stance.[27] The *Daily* drew criticism, too, from many socialists—among them Eugene V.

24. Chicago Federation of Labor minutes (henceforth CFL minutes), 3 April 1909, 6 and 20 November 1910, 19 February 1911, 6 October 1912, Chicago Historical Society. I am indebted to Steve Sapolsky for calling these to my attention. Despite declining to make the *Daily Socialist* its official organ, the CFL urged the daily to cease publishing articles on the unaffiliated Cigar Makers' Progressive Union. CFL minutes, 19 March 1911.

25. A. W. Mance, "Union Labor and the Press," *CDS*, 6 August 1909, 4.

26. CFL minutes, 21 July 1912, 26–27.

27. See, for example, "Hearst in New Bid for Labor," *CDS*, 13 August 1908, 2; "Socialists Are Trounced Hard," *CDS*, 7 October 1908, 2, which quoted CFL President John Fitzpatrick: "Organized labor has saved the workingman from ruin, and now you socialists step in and try to tear it down" (3). Also see "Labor Ticket Proved Unfair," *CDS*, 7 June 1909, 2, and "J. Fitzpatrick Denies Story," *CDS*, 26 May 1910, 1.

Debs, who condemned the paper for catering to "spineless and treacherous craft union leaders[,] . . . crooks, grafters, and misleaders, who are a curse to the movement." This policy, Debs argued, damaged the socialist and labor movements equally. Instead the paper should appeal to "the rank and file . . . but not by catering to their corrupt and reactionary leaders. I am for fighting every battle of the trade unions, the rank and file, from start to finish, always holding before them, however, the ideal of industrial unionism." Otherwise the *Daily* would be associated with the treacheries of the union misleaders in the public eye, and would forfeit an invaluable opportunity to build the socialist cause.[28]

A. H. Simons, commenting on the history of the *Chicago Socialist*, said that "starting a paper is easy compared with keeping it going."[29] Resources, or more specifically their absence, lie at the heart of the *Chicago Daily Socialist*'s story. The paper was launched from the offices of the weekly *Chicago Socialist* with virtually no operating capital, less organization (hundreds of subscribers went without their papers in the initial weeks), and without a plant of its own. An earlier effort to launch a socialist daily had collapsed because the necessary funds could not be raised.[30] And

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If relations were strained even with Chicago's dominant union progressives, conservatives, entrenched in the Building Trades Council, were relentlessly hostile. See, for example, *Examiner*, 15 October 1912, "World Denounced by Labor Leaders," clipping in Morgan Papers, folder 63.

28. E. V. Debs, "The Chicago Movement," *CDS*, 8 September 1911; also Debs, "What's Wrong with Chicago," *CDS*, 22 August 1911. Two days before "The Chicago Movement" ran, Debs wrote the *Daily*'s editor: "Please return the MS . . . mailed to you nearly two weeks ago. I do not now wish it published in the *Daily Socialist*. . . . I would prefer not to have it appear at all but there are some matters of party interest involved which make it necessary for me to have the article published elsewhere, and this I shall do with an explanatory note attached to it. . . . You have simply suppressed the article. You held up my previous article ["What's Wrong with Chicago"] for a considerable time and when you finally allowed it to appear you were particular to see to it that your wordy attempt to answer it appeared in the very same issue." Letter to *Daily Socialist*, 6 September 1911, in *Letters of Eugene V. Debs*, ed. J. Robert Constantine, 3 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 1:428. Also see Debs, "Socialist Papers and the Labor Unions," *Chicago Socialist*, 3 February 1906, 4. Debs argued that "strictly speaking, the Socialist Party has no press. The papers published in the interests of the Socialist party are owned by party members. . . and they are not necessarily the exponents of party policy." Most of these papers opposed the Industrial Workers of the World, he argued, "because a majority of their union labor subscribers belong to the American Federation of Labor."

29. Simons, "Brief History of the *Chicago Socialist*," 8.

30. "A Socialist Daily Paper," *Chicago Socialist*, 3 December 1904, 1. The plan was to raise thirty thousand dollars in capital by selling shares and to begin the *Daily Socialist Times* when twenty-five thousand subscribers were secured. Also see, in the *Chicago Socialist*, "Western Socialist Newspaper Company," 10 December 1904; "For a Socialist Daily," 19 November 1904; and "Why Incorporate?" 10 February 1906. The latter concluded that "the move that was made a year ago looking toward a daily paper was premature," although three hundred shares were subscribed (but only partially paid for) at ten dollars a share.

the Chicago newspaper market was already saturated with ten English-language general circulation dailies, several of which collapsed in the next few years (though Scripps entered the market in 1911 with the *Day Book*).

Begun as a two-week campaign daily, the possibility of continued publication was discussed even before the first issue hit the streets. "This Paper Will Be Made Permanent" proclaimed a 1 November headline, over an appeal to readers to secure twenty thousand new subscribers:

> It will be the first permanent daily Socialist newspaper in the English-speaking world . . . fight[ing] for the working people, so that each day they may have a little more of the things to which they are entitled, until finally the day of liberation comes. . . .
>
> This paper owes its existence to the working class. They are its readers, its solicitors, and, to a large extent, its staff. It is for them to say, by their interest and their work, what it will do.[31]

With the decision to sustain daily publication (except on Sundays), a campaign was launched to raise fifty thousand dollars in operating capital by selling shares in the Workers' Publishing Society at ten dollars each. For months to come scarcely a week went by without urgent appeals to readers to increase circulation, to cover the operating deficit, to patronize advertisers and thus help sell advertising, and to lend the paper funds to purchase its own printing plant. A financial statement published on the *Daily*'s first twenty-three weeks of operations put the loss to date at $16,211.23, with advertising accounting for just 19 percent of operating income.[32] By the *Daily*'s ninth month seventy-five thousand dollars had been raised and spent, but another seven thousand was urgently needed to continue publication. Financial crisis followed financial crisis at frequent intervals throughout the *Daily*'s life.[33]

The editors pinned their hopes on increased circulation, hoping that it would result in both immediate income and increased advertising sales down the road. Frequent appeals continued to call upon readers to sell subscriptions, buy stock or lend

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31. "This Paper Will Be Continued," *CDS*, 2 November 1906, 4; "This Paper Will Be Made Permanent," *CDS*, 1 November 1906, 1; Algie Simons, "Starting a Daily Socialist Paper," *International Socialist Review* 7 (December 1906): 328–30.
32. "The Story of the Daily Socialist," *CDS*, 13 April 1907, 4.
33. See, for example, "What Shall Be Done?" *CDS*, 8 July 1907, 4; "A Statement about the Prospects of This Paper," *Chicago Evening World*, 10 September 1912. Many socialists criticized the venture from the start. Thomas Morgan, for example, wrote the Workers' Publishing Society (the corporation established to publish the *CDS*) cautioning that "enthusiasm is a dangerous element, as it prevents efforts to proceed with care and ascertain all the facts . . . tending to undermine party control and lead to financial collapse." Letter to Workers' Publishing Society, 13 December 1906, Thomas J. Morgan Papers, folder 53.

money to meet the paper's pressing debts—regularly followed by articles thanking them for their heroic efforts, though one chided Chicago-area socialists for falling behind their comrades in the rest of the country.[34] Subscription contests offered incentives ranging from socialist books (donated by the Charles Kerr company) to gold pocket watches to readers selling the most subscriptions.[35] The party's Bohemian daily *Spravedlnost* contributed funds to, and advertised in, the *Daily Socialist*, as did other foreign-language branches.[36]

Given the *Daily Socialist*'s inability to meet expenses through advertising sales, even during the short period in 1912 when its circulation was larger than that of all other Chicago newspapers combined, the Socialist party relied upon subscriptions, loans, stock sales, donations, and fundraisers to sustain the paper.[37] This ensured, at best, a precarious existence. On 22 October 1907, three days short of the *Daily*'s first anniversary, a page 1 cartoon asked "Shall the *Chicago Daily Socialist* continue publication?" Six weeks before, the editors had announced a drive to increase circulation to one hundred thousand copies—a goal that eluded them for another four-and-a-half years.[38]

Despite generous support from local and national socialists, the *Daily Socialist* lost huge sums of money. The *Daily* lost $42,000 in 1906–07, the first year of publication; $20,000 in 1907–08; $16,000 in 1908–09; and $14,000 in 1909–10. (Figures are not available for the *Daily*'s final two years, though the losses were certainly much higher in 1912.) These figures represent losses on operations, most of which were covered by sales of capital stock and bonds (which were treated as operating income). By late 1910 the Workers' Publishing Society owed $55,000 in bonds, and had $40,000 invested in its stock, on assets of $40,000. Only the fact that this debt was largely owed to party members kept the paper afloat.

"Financially," Algie Simons's biographer concludes, "the *Chicago Daily Socialist* was a disastrous undertaking." "The lack of working capital starved its editorial efforts and distorted the editorial objectives. . . . That the paper endured as long as it

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34. "Shame on Chicago Socialists," *CDS*, 5 January 1907, 1; "How Battle Was Fought and Won," *CDS*, 11 February 1907, 1.
35. *CDS*, 10, 15 July 1907.
36. See, for example, *CDS*, 3 December 1906, 2; *Spravedlnost* was among shareholders listed in the *CDS*, 5 January 1907, 4.
37. Among the fundraisers was an annual picnic held at Riverview Park. The 1909 picnic featured a wrestling match refereed by the *Daily*'s sports editor, a pie-eating contest, short plays and sketches by members of the Actors Union, performances by a German comedian and the German Workingmen's Singing Society, a one-man band, races, weightlifters, a dancing pavilion, and impromptu socialist speeches. "Vast Crowds at That Picnic," *CDS*, 29 June 1909, 3; "Picnic Crowd Is 3,000 Strong," *CDS*, 8 September 1909, 2.
38. "Hustlers' Column," *CDS*, 9 September 1907, 2.
39. Huston, "A. M. Simons," 187.

did is a tribute to the perseverance and loyalty of those associated with publishing it."[39] In their enthusiasm, *Daily* backers overstated income and circulation figures, inflated the value of the paper's assets, and repeatedly promised that if the paper just survived the immediate crisis it soon would pay its own way.

Rumors proliferated in the absence of reliable information about the daily's finances. Among them, in the *Daily*'s early weeks, was a rumor that it had been financed by a handful of wealthy individuals who controlled editorial policy. The editors denounced this as "a flat-footed lie." The *Daily Socialist* was accountable only to the working class, and ninety-five percent of the stock of the parent Workers' Publishing Society was held by Socialist party members and chapters.[40]

A few months later, the accounts for the paper's first twenty-three weeks were published. The *Daily* was broke. "Unless there is an immediate increase in the working capital of this paper, its whole future usefulness will be handicapped, future progress will be impossible, and its very continuous existence will be jeopardized." The paper was running a deficit of ninety-three dollars per day (though this was much less than the initial losses), and depended on a handful of party members for survival. Gaylord Wilshire, the "millionaire socialist," held $4,000 of nearly $22,000 in loans issued to purchase the paper's printing plant. Five others held $6,500 in loans, with the balance held by 120 unnamed socialists. An audit of the Workers' Publishing Society books demanded by the Socialist party's Executive Committee painted a bleak picture. The entire $25,000 raised through the sale of the society's stock had been spent to cover operating deficits, and the paper had some $18,000 in unsecured loans and bills. The *Daily*'s plant had been bought for $23,850.58, but was carried on the books at $45,929.55. And despite the *Daily Socialist*'s claim that its circulation was larger than that of the *Evening Post* and the (nearly defunct) *Chronicle* combined, actual circulation was but twenty thousand copies—twelve thousand of which were distributed outside Chicago.[41]

By September 1907 circulation had grown to thirty thousand copies daily, half of which was outside the Chicago area. The market-leading *Chicago Daily News*, though, had a circulation of three hundred thousand copies. The Socialist party's audit

40. See, for example, "What Shall Be Done?" *CDS*, 8 July 1907, 4; "Rally to Your Press," *CDS*, 31 March 1908, 4; "A Personal Letter to Every Worker," *CDS*, 17 February 1909, 6; "A Statement about the Prospects of This Paper," *Evening World*, 10 September 1912; "No Truth In It," *CDS*, 10 December 1906, 4.

41. "The Story of the Daily Socialist," *CDS*, 13 April 1907, 4; auditor's report, in Morgan Papers, folder 21.

42. Huston, "A. M. Simons," 181; Executive Committee, Local Cook County report dated 20 November 1908, in Thomas Morgan Papers, box 35; "Our Balance Sheet," *CDS*, 27 June 1908, 3. The latter conceded "at first sight there is much

committee, which was refused access to the Workers' Publishing Society books, reported in November 1908 that the *Daily Socialist* circulated ten thousand copies in the city, and twenty-one thousand copies in the rest of the country.[42] Local circulation gradually increased after this rocky start, accounting for the bulk of circulation by 1910. But total circulation remained about the same as national readers switched to the party's new (and larger and closer to home) New York and Milwaukee dailies.

Mounting deficits ensured that the *Daily Socialist* would remain a four-page paper, with occasional larger special issues. Making a virtue of necessity, the *Socialist* heralded the superiority of the "live" four-page paper over the "big, clumsy, and heavy" newspapers published by their capitalistic adversaries.[43] A reader agreed: "I take up a blanket newspaper with a feeling that capitalism is needlessly sacrificing our forests to the insane waste of modern advertising."[44]

The *Daily Socialist* maintained that, despite its size, it offered better value to readers—contrasting its 15 March 1907 edition to that of the *Daily News*, "one of the largest evening papers in the world." The *News*, they announced, published eighty-six different news stories, exclusive of sports and financial news (neither of which ran in the *Daily Socialist*); the *Daily* published ninety-eight. The *News* ran longer stories and more column inches of news (most articles in the *Daily Socialist* ran only a couple of paragraphs), it conceded, but the *News*'s articles were "rendered valueless because it is published by a millionaire determined to preserve the conditions which made him rich." The four-page paper, the editors proclaimed, was the paper of the future—even enlightened capitalists such as the Scripps-McRae chain recognized its superiority.[45]

The *Daily Socialist* remained a thin paper throughout its life, usually publishing only four to six pages. Even at the peak of its circulation, it never printed more than twelve pages—and often published but six pages of cramped type. The *Daily Socialist* was able to maintain uninterrupted, if often tenuous, publication for its first four-and-a-half years through frequent and often desperate pleas for increased financial support. But publication had to be briefly suspended for lack of funds in summer 1911, and again in spring 1912.[46]

At first, six of the *Daily*'s twenty-eight columns were typically devoted to advertising (often even less), much of it from local socialists and publishers of socialist literature. The paper

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reflect prices for new equipment even thought the press and plant were purchased used.

43. "No Apologies Needed," *CDS*, 19 March 1907, 4.
44. Henry Allen, "Four Pages Enough," *CDS*, 5 April 1907, 4.
45. "No Apologies Needed," *CDS*, 19 March 1907, 4.
46. *Publishers Weekly*, 17 June 1911, 2366; *Chicago Record-Herald*, 30 April 1912, 5.

began with ads from clothing stores and socialist publishers, and classifieds for the same local lawyers, shoe repairmen, cigar stores, and bakeries who had backed the weekly for years. The business department faced "the impossible task of either procuring advertising for a newspaper that was hostile to the advertisers it solicited or else balancing the books with the income from a penny paper."[47] The *Daily Socialist*'s management tried to assuage the doubts of readers who viewed advertising as symptomatic of capitalist waste through articles explaining the economics of the newspaper industry and house ads proclaiming that "Only an Ad Reader can Wisely Manage Household Finances.... The Merchant who Advertises is Working for You!"[48] Although the paper eventually secured some major accounts—most notably, local utilities seeking greater consumption from working-class households—it was never able to sell advertisements to the department stores or other firms that were the financial mainstay of its many competitors. Yet the *Daily* continued to believe that "one of the main sources of income of any daily paper must be its advertising."[49]

Advertising remained problematic for the next six years, both because of the difficulty of securing advertisements from capitalist firms and because of the contradictions between the commercial imperatives facing the paper and its socialist ideology. The *Daily Socialist*'s third issue explained that other newspapers dared not expose the truth about the firms that dominated commerce and industry because they depended upon advertising for their financial prosperity.[50] Five weeks later, the editors warned—in the course of an exposé on fraudulent advertisements—that:

> The *Chicago Daily Socialist* will publish almost any "fake" advertisements.... This paper must compete with the capitalist dailies, and to live must be almost as immoral in its business department as the *Daily News*. There is only one excuse for this policy, and that is the desire of the Socialist party to show to the working class that anarchy in the distribution of wealth is a crime, and point out a better method.[51]

This marked a radical departure from the policy governing its weekly predecessor. In 1904 *Chicago Socialist* business manager A. S. Edwards had explained that the paper was "excluded from sharing in the enormous and wasteful expenditures for advertising which provide ample funds for publications supporting the capitalist system."[52] A few months later, a new busi-

47. Huston, "A. M. Simons," 180.
48. *CDS*, 19 March 1910, 12.
49. "The Hustler's Column," *CDS*, 8 April 1907, 1.
50. "Talks with Our Readers," *CDS*, 27 October 1906, 4.
51. "Medical Fraud in the Daily News," *CDS*, 5 December 1906, 1.
52. A. S. Edwards, "The Business Desk," *Chicago Socialist*, 15 October 1904, 2.

ness manager boasted of increased advertising and circulation, but warned that

> we are not taking in any misleading advertisements, no matter what price is offered. . . . A Socialist paper must never allow a faker to use its columns for his own selfish purposes. Any comrade who knows or finds out anything detrimental about any of our advertisers may at once inform the manager and it will be investigated, and if found true steps will be taken to cancel the contract.[53]

At that time advertising columns were dominated by local small businessmen (dry goods merchants, tailors, shoe repairmen, lawyers, etc.) and socialist organizations and publishers.

The *Daily*, too, relied on these sorts of advertisers. But it also accepted advertisements such as one for Oxydonor which promised to cure "all manner of diseases with oxygen from the air."[54] Advertisements for patent medicines, get-rich-quick schemes, and land speculators coexisted uneasily with socialist propaganda and notices throughout the paper's tumultuous history. Veteran Chicago socialist Thomas Morgan devoted much of his weekly *Provoker* to denunciations of the *Daily Socialist*'s advertising columns, warning "comrades against being led to ruin" by these "lying advertisements." The party's national committee, Morgan insisted, "has officially condemned all of this kind of advertising, by which the 'exploitation' and 'grafting' upon comrades is carried out in the party."[55] In 1908 the *Daily Socialist* banned mining stock ads, it eliminated advertisements for speculative schemes in 1910, when Morgan was elected to the Workers' Publishing Society board of directors for a one-year term.[56] Despite his vigorous objections the *Daily Socialist* con-

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53. A. Elsemann, "Managers Column," *Chicago Socialist*, 28 January 1905, 2.
54. *CDS*, 16 February 1907, 2.
55. T. J. Morgan, "Lying Advertisements in Socialist Papers," *Provoker*, 24 February 1910, 1–2. See, also, the *Provoker* for 14 October 1909 and 3 February 1910. An article in the latter ("Private 'Enterprise' in the Party") asserted that such practices, and the lack of party control over its press, "makes Socialist denunciation of Capitalist graft and corruption a farce."
56. Morgan remained highly critical of the *Daily*'s management, frequently protesting that he was excluded from information and decision-making as a minority member. In an undated letter to fellow board members Morgan demanded that the paper's financial reporting be reformed, and that meetings be held in a Party hall "so that all comrades interested may be present and hear its deliberations." Morgan Papers, folder 23.
57. Huston, "A. M. Simons," 184; "Daily Socialist Board of Directors Outline Future and Ask Your Aid," *CDS*, 19 December 1910; Thomas Morgan, "Simons Was Fired," *Provoker*, 15 September 1910, 1–2; Thomas Morgan, "The Daily Socialist's Doctors' Advertisements," *Provoker*, 6 October 1910, 1. When the paper persuaded two banks to advertise, Morgan argued the ads suggested "either that these banking corporations are being converted to socialism. . . or that its . . . agitation is so 'safe and sane' as to be worthy of the support of the Chicago Bankers. *Which?*" *Provoker*, "The Daily and the Bankers," 7 April 1910, 4.

tinued selling ads to medical charlatans until the end. Yet the *Daily*'s management claimed that it had lost thousands in potential revenue because it refused scab cigar and clothing advertisements and ads "of such a nature as might impose on the credulity of its readers."[57]

Advertising policies remained controversial even after the *Daily*'s demise. In May 1913, the party's Twelfth Ward condemned the successor *Workers World* for carrying too much advertising.[58] In 1914 the executive committee ordered the paper to stop advertising a lecture by Emma Goldman on the grounds that "our Party organ should not be used to further the interests of these two professional Anarchists."[59] In 1917 socialists protested advertisements for anti-labor firms and government bonds, and the party directed the editor to oppose the bond issue.[60]

The *Daily Socialist* always had difficulty securing advertising. Successive business managers exhorted readers to patronize the paper's advertisers, and to let them know why they had gotten the business. In 1909 a "Daily Socialist Purchasers' League" was organized, members of which pledged to patronize only those firms that advertised in the paper. Although advertising had increased from earlier levels (still nearly all from socialists or small businessmen dependent upon working-class customers)—reaching as many as thirty columns of advertising in some weekend editions—keeping such a pledge would have posed serious difficulties for those whose purchases were not limited to Socialist literature.[61] The next year, forty-three thousand supporters were enrolled in a program whereby advertising merchants recorded purchases in a booklet redeemable for seventy-five cents (or a socialist book) for every twenty dollars spent with the *Daily*'s advertisers.[62]

Even during the newspaper strike of 1912, which for several weeks essentially shut down all English-language Chicago newspapers except the Scripps-McRae *Day Book*, the *Press* (a short-lived neighborhood daily published on pink paper which appears to have died when the strike collapsed), and the *Daily* (renamed the *Daily/Evening World*), advertisers proved reluctant to patronize the paper. (The *Day Book* did not carry advertising

58. Minutes of Cook County Executive Committee, 2, 16 May 1913, Cook County Socialist Party Papers, University of Illinois at Chicago.
59. Executive Committee minutes, 8 April 1914, 3–4.
60. Executive Committee minutes, 6 July, 7 August, 12 October 1917.
61. "Daily Socialist Purchasers' League," *CDS*, 2 January 1909, 4.
62. "Over 43,000 Using Purchasing Books to Help Newspaper," *CDS*, 4 March 1910, 3.
63. Oliver Knight, "Scripps and His Adless Newspaper, *The Day Book*," *Journalism Quarterly* 41 (Spring 1964): 57–58.
64. The *Daily*'s circulation was so wide that Chicago Typographical Union 16, which was crossing picket lines to print the Trust dailies, reported that "a great number of members of No. 16 are reading the *Daily World* to the exclusion of all

and had a circulation of only a few thousand copies.[63]) Only a handful of advertisers broke ranks when the *Daily*'s circulation increased from forty to three hundred thousand copies daily, including its new morning edition, dwarfing its strike-bound competitors.[64] While circulation was not sustained at that level, the *Daily Socialist* did maintain a substantial circulation of more than one hundred thousand copies throughout its final months.

When the Chicago newspaper trust locked out union pressmen in May 1912, and other newspaper workers struck in sympathy, the *Daily* had just emerged from its second suspension. With its competitors completely out of the field,

> the *World* [the *Daily*'s new title] had the whole territory formerly occupied by the big metropolitan papers all to itself. . . . The equipment was inadequate for this temporary condition, but the little press was set in motion and was grinding out about 300,000 papers every twenty-four hours. For over one month this little giant kept pouring forth this enormous edition.[65]

For the first time in its life, the paper actually cleared a profit for May and June 1912. But the plant and staff were unable to handle the dramatically increased workload, and the paper embarked upon what many in the Socialist party believed was a reckless expansion campaign.

Neither the Workers' Publishing Society nor the Socialist party had the resources to finance this expansion. Instead the paper turned to the Pressmen's Union for a loan of sixty thousand dollars to purchase new presses and meet increased running expenses. A morning edition was launched, a sports page added (part of a general increase in pages), and more than a hundred people added to the originally quite small editorial and business staff. With circulation at a combined three hundred thousand copies daily—one hundred thousand for the two-cent morning paper; two hundred thousand for the one-cent *Evening World*—paper bills alone increased from five hundred to sixty-five hundred dollars weekly. In July the Socialist Party's delegate committee ordered retrenchment. But control rested in the hands of the directors of the Workers' Publishing Society, who continued to pursue what they saw as an unparalleled opportunity to establish the *World* as a bona fide newspaper able to hold its own against any capitalist daily in the Chicago market.[66]

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other papers," blasting the paper for refusing to publish its side to the conflict. "Statement of Typographical 16," 2 June 1912, Fitzpatrick Papers, box 1.

65. Bentall, "Who Killed the Chicago Daily World?" 557-58.

66. Philip Taft, "The Limits of Labor Unity: The Chicago Newspaper Strike of 1912," *Labor History* 19(#1 1978): 111–12; Bentall, "Who Killed the Chicago Daily World?" 557–58; "Trying to Sell the Socialist Party," *Chicago Socialist*, November 1912, 1–2; *Chicago Evening World*, 17 August 1912. The strike and its effects are also discussed in Howard Myers, "The Policing of Labor Disputes in Chicago" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1929), 728–48.

Increased circulation and advertising revenue covered some of the higher operating costs, but still the *Daily* lost money on every copy sold. Increased press runs served only to magnify the extent of the losses. The Socialist Party's national *Monthly Bulletin* noted that far from making the paper prosperous, "the increased circulation has enormously multiplied the expenses."[67] Soon the *Daily* went public with the paper's worsening economic plight (they said they had kept silent for fear of weakening the newspaper strike) and pleaded for funds.[68]

In the meantime, the directors had turned to a business syndicate headed by attorney Henry Blum (who later served as counsel to the Chicago Association of Credit Men) and to local bankers to raise much-needed operating capital; pledging Society stock, bills receivable and the paper's printing plant as collateral. By September the syndicate held forty-five thousand dollars in loans and insisted on a change of management. Former *Tribune* business manager Harrison Parker was now hired to manage the paper, and professional newspapermen soon took charge of the other departments.[69] The paper remained editorially closely allied to the labor movement, but

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67. *Monthly Bulletin*, August 1912. Morgan Papers, folder 61. The strike forestalled what party left-wingers believed would be a successful campaign to take control of the *Daily*. See, for example, Charles H. Kerr to Robert Howe (chairman of Morgan's Socialist Educational League), 23 May 1912: "Bentall burnt his bridges behind him at the Convention. . . . I believe that the rank and file are becoming thoroughly disgusted with the Daily machine, and that when the present strike is over things will begin to happen." Morgan Papers, folder 61. Bentall soon broke with *Daily* management, opposing a proposal to sell advertising space to capitalist candidates in the November 1912 elections and denouncing extravagant expenditures during the strike.

68. "A Statement about the Prospects of This Paper," *Evening World*, 10 September 1912.

69. Bentall, "Who Killed the Chicago Daily World?" 557–58; for an account contradicting Bentall, see "Another Chapter in Chicago Strikes," *Typographical Journal*, January 1913, 17–18.

Harrison Parker was a controversial figure who worked for the Hearst organization and several magazines in their business departments from 1898 to 1909, when he briefly became *Chicago Tribune* business manager. He was hired by the Workers' Publishing Society in October 1912. After the *Daily World* went bankrupt Parker became president of Hearst's Evening American Publishing Company. He went on to form the Co-operative Society of America, which attracted two hundred thousand members (mostly attracted by promises that they could save on groceries while building an alternative to capitalist economic institutions) at its peak, before being found guilty of stock fraud. The Chicago Federation of Labor called Parker the "wily shark in the Hearst building," and eagerly exposed his history of promotions and frauds. See, for example, the following articles in the *New Majority:* "Unionists Expose H. M. Parker," 2 April 1921, 6; "Parker's Fake Co-op in Receiver's Hands," 15 October 1921, 2; Dorothy Watson, "Fake Co-operatives Exposed," 30 October 1920, 8; "Harrison Parker's Store is Portable," 18 December 1920, 1. The corporate shell games and litigation surrounding this venture are discussed in Colston Warne, "The Consumers' Co-operative Movement in Illinois" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1925), 207–53.

70. "Trying to Sell the Socialist Party," *Chicago Socialist*, November 1912. Morgan

increasingly filled its columns with sensationalist and human-interest items. By November 1912 Morgan's independent *Chicago Socialist* charged that the *Daily* had fallen under the control of Democratic party boss Roger Sullivan, who was using the paper to battle Hearst's influence in the party.[70]

In addition to its desperate efforts to raise funds, the Workers' Publishing Society board cut expenses and returned to a four- to six-page paper.[71] Yet by December 1912 the *World* had accumulated more than $125,000 in debts (excluding the nominal value of its stock), much of it attributable to the strike-related expansion (but also including debts built up over the previous five years), and was unable to meet thirty-three thousand dollars in long-term bonds—nearly all held by socialists. The party rejected a proposal to sell control to the syndicate, arguing that "if these non-socialist capitalists are given control of the party daily . . . there is no limit to which they may not go in corrupting the socialist organization."[72] Instead its bondholders' trustee was directed to initiate bankruptcy proceedings. Ironically, the paper went under just weeks after the Socialist party scored one of its most impressive local election campaigns

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charged that $102,000 in WPS stock had been illegally transferred to outside capitalists to raise funds and that the paper was $195,000 in debt. The *Typographical Journal* similarly quoted an unnamed newspaper's report that the WPS had turned "to a once powerful democratic politician who secured an influential share of the paper's policy," concluding that the *World* "spoke for the crooked democratic politicians and every foe of good government." "Another Chapter in Chicago Strikes," January 1913, 18.

Roger Sullivan was boss of the Democratic party until his death in 1920, though opposed by the Carter Harrison and Edward Dunne organizations. In 1912 his hold on both the local and state parties was endangered as Harrison was mayor and Dunne was governor—giving both control over extensive patronage. (Dunne, in particular, had long been backed by Hearst.) By 1914 Sullivan was strong enough to gain the party's nomination for the U.S. Senate, and after 1916 Sullivan "all but reigned supreme in the Democratic party." Alex Gottfried, *Boss Cermak of Chicago* (Seattle: University of Washington Press 1962), 122–23.

71. On 26 October 1912 business manager Peter Boulthouse issued a circular to WPS bondholders proclaiming that "out of the chaos of a bitter six months newspaper and labor war, the Chicago Evening World emerges triumphant—towering serenely above the smoke and din of battle with a circulation of over two hundred thousand copies a day." Only two obstacles remained—the need for new equipment (though the entire pressroom had been replaced during the strike) and the expiring bond issue. Boulthouse asked bondholders to roll their bonds over into a new, larger, issue or to tender them as a donation. Morgan Papers, folder 63.

72. *Evening World*, 4 December 1912, 1; "Trying to Sell the Socialist Party," *Chicago Socialist*, November 1912 ; Bentall, "Who Killed Chicago Daily World?" 557–58. The *Chicago Socialist* reported that William Bross Lloyd, who held eight thousand dollars in loans, urged foreclosure to protect the party's good name, even though his investment would surely be lost.

73. *Chicago Record-Herald*, 7 November 1912, 4.

74. Bentall, "Who Killed Chicago Daily World?" 559-60; Huston, "A. M. Simons."

75. Executive Committee minutes, 18 April, 9 May 1913. It required several years to wrap up the paper's affairs. Cook County Superior Court issued its final decree

ever, doubling its 1908 vote.[73]

The Workers' Publishing Society forged ahead with efforts to raise $150,000 to relaunch the *World* but raised only a few hundred dollars from the demoralized comrades.[74] Five months later, the party was still struggling to settle accounts and to cover the daily's unpaid wages.[75]

Writing in September of 1910 to one of the *Daily*'s financial backers, Thomas Morgan argued that "the first essential of success is to make the *Daily* an indispensable means of communication between the socialist and labor organizations and their individual members."[76] No party member would have disagreed with that assessment. Yet in struggling to realize this goal the *Daily* ran up against both the economic structure of a newspaper industry predicated on advertising revenues for survival and long-entrenched differences between Chicago's labor and socialist movements that made it impossible to secure the sustained support it needed in order to survive. While foreign-language socialist dailies could draw upon a rich network of ethnic socialist institutions to survive, and even to thrive, the *Daily Socialist*'s ambitions to compete with Chicago's mainstream dailies on their own terms ultimately ensured its collapse.

The Socialist party could quite possibly (as critics of the expansion policy argued) have sustained a small-circulation, low-budget daily for several years—especially if it had taken advantage of the newspaper strike to reduce indebtedness. Competing head-to-head with the capitalist press required increased investment and reliance on advertising revenue—neither of

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dissolving the Workers' Publishing Society on 10 May 1921. In Chancery, Genl. No. 14825. A copy was found in the Illinois State Archives, Dissolved Domestic Corporation Charters series. Efforts to locate the court file at the successor court proved unsuccessful.

76. To William Bross Lloyd, 1 September 1910. Morgan Papers, folder 58.

77. Disputants were not aligned on a strict left-right basis, however. The *Daily*'s efforts to negotiate conflicting economic and political pressures drew Christian Socialists (normally aligned with the conservatives) into alliance with Morgan despite his general (though perhaps mistaken) identification with the Party's left-wing. Christian socialists were appalled by advertisements for speculative schemes, left-wingers by its flirtation with Labor Party schemes and trade union officialdom. Pro- and anti-*Daily* forces were closely balanced. In December 1911, the Cook County Delegate Committee voted forty to thirty-nine to expel Morgan from the party based on his attacks against the paper and right-wing party leaders. The expulsion, however, was quickly reversed by referendum. See Ralph Scharnu, "Thomas J. Morgan and the Chicago Socialist Movement" (Ph.D. diss., Northern Illinois University, 1969), 331–32. John Broderick, "Thomas J. Morgan, Socialist and Labor Leader," (M.A. thesis, University of Illinois, 1968), 170–87, argues that Morgan was laying the basis for a left split during this period and that "the *Provoker* represented the death rattle for the revolutionaries." The evidence tends more to indicate that Morgan was pressing for a more explicitly working-class orientation, closer alliance to the labor movement (despite his co-factionalists), and especially to reduce the influence of intellectuals in the movement.

which were available without changes in policy and management that undermined already strained relations with the broader Socialist party. But controversy was also inevitable, given the deep factional divisions within the party and the ambiguities intrinsic to the Workers' Publishing Society structure.[77] Although the paper was issued in the party's name and relied upon the party for regular financial assistance, it was largely autonomous of party control.

This was not an accident. The Socialist party constitution prohibited the national party from owning or endorsing any official organ—a clause that based upon the experience of many of the party's founders in the Socialist Labor party, whose party-owned press "became an important factor in enabling the National Executive Committee to establish themselves as dictators over the party and crush out all opposition."[78] Party papers were issued by state and local organizations, by co-operative associations of party members, and by private individuals more or less sympathetic to the party's goals. While there was no prohibition against local party ownership of the *Daily*, tradition and practical considerations (the need to convince non-members and local unions—reluctant to donate to the party itself—to contribute funds) both argued against it.

Daniel DeLeon, editor of the Socialist Labor party's *Daily People* (and the "dictator" referred to above), disagreed with this approach, insisting that "the Party press expresses the collective view of the body . . . the cause of the masses is not safe in one man's hands." In an obituary for the Socialists' New York *Daily Call*, DeLeon suggested that no English-language socialist paper could compete directly with its contemporaries, "it must furnish a specialized kind of news that the capitalist press either does not care for, or does not want—legitimate labor and social news":

> *The Call*, from the start, went in to compete and contest their field with the capitalist newspapers. And, like a ship in the hands of a skill-less mariner, it stuck

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While the *Daily* was always dominated by the party's right wing, it could often call upon support from left-wingers as well. More important than this limited patronage was the enthusiasm it could kindle among the rank and file. Party members of all factions agreed that a daily paper was essential to combat the capitalist press, and were willing to overlook a good deal on its behalf.

78. "A Party Owned Press," *International Socialist Review*, July 1909, 69.

79. Daniel DeLeon, *Party Ownership of the Press* (New York:New yorḱ Labor News 1931), 29; Daniel DeLeon, "At the Bier of *The Call*," *The People*, 9 April 1988, 5. (Written in 1909, but first published in 1923.)

> to the mistaken course. . . . The considerable funds it started with quickly vanished; the still more considerable funds it subsequently roped in vanished likewise. . . .
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> A great opportunity was lost. . . . The lodestar of the SP is "get-there-quick"; contempt for sober, small beginnings; confusion of bigness for greatness. . . . In the socialist movement such a lodestar is the will-o'-the-wisp that rises over, and lures into quagmires.[79]

The *Daily Socialist* began with no such "considerable funds," but in its brief, stormy existence it did draw heavily upon the party's resources. When it died, the *International Socialist Review* editorialized:

> For years the *Daily* has paralyzed the Socialist party of Chicago. Its chronic deficits have exhausted the resources and dampened the ardor of the most willing workers. Its editors, with a few honorable exceptions, have cringed before the officials of the reactionary craft unions, and edited the news columns of the paper in a way to suit these officials. Hundreds of thousands of dollars of working people's money have been sunk into turning out a cheap imitation of a capitalist daily, with nothing in it to fire the spirit of a rebellious wage-slave.[80]

In 1919, when the Socialist Party's delegate committee voted to "start a new daily paper at once," the motion carefully spelled out the lines upon which the paper was to be conducted: A four-page "party owned and controlled" evening paper printed in ten-point type on twelve-point leading, sold for three cents a copy and printed by contract with no plant of its own, managed by the party's executive committee, employing none but party members of two years good standing "in agreement with the Bolsheviki of Russia and the Sparticans of Germany."[81]

They would take no chances on a repeat of the *Daily Socialist*'s ignominious collapse.

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80. "Frenzied Finance in the Socialist Party," January 1913, 562.

81. Minutes, 9 February 1919, Cook County Socialist Party Collection, University of Illinois at Chicago archives. The collection is incomplete, containing no minutes prior to 1913. Scattered party minutes can be found in the Thomas Morgan papers held by the Universities of Chicago and Illinois. The proposed daily was never issued, and the decision to publish was probably prompted (though there is no mention of this) by the Chicago Federation of Labor's establishment of the Cook County Labor party and the weekly *New Majority* several weeks earlier.

THE ECONOMICS AND POLITICS OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEWSPAPERS

Market Segmentation and Partisanship in the *Detroit Press*, 1865–1900

Richard L. Kaplan

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, it has repeatedly been proclaimed, was the era of partisan journalism. Newspapers conducted a biased and vituperative journalism that celebrated the fortunes and fates of the two political parties. The political parties embroidered their annual election struggles with elaborate rituals of partisanship; voters would march in torchlight parades through the city streets, ending up at massive rallies where the partisans and onlookers would cheer long-winded oratory. All these were reported in minute detail by the press with lauding, chronological accounts of the preferred party's rallies, verbatim records of the speeches, and graphic illustrations of roosters crowing over every election triumph.[1]

What accounts for the persistence of this press partisanship in the nineteenth century? To answer this question this essay scrutinizes the market interaction of newspapers in the Detroit metropolitan area from 1865 to 1900. Through the observation of various episodes and crises in Detroit newspaper history, I arrive at a series of propositions about newspaper competition and the market segmentation of readers along the lines of political preferences. In essence, I claim that newspapers, in the face of strong competition, were forced to specialize their appeal in order to capture a select share of the available readers. This market share was defined partly by party divisions. Further, this competition of newspapers and their resulting market strategies was influenced and strengthened by the introduction of "political capital" into the newspaper market—that is, capital invested in newspapers for political reasons, typically by office-seeking politicians.

However, when and why America's press ended its formal

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1. Richard Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 4–6.

party affiliations and became a neutral, information press is still today a matter of debate. Any historian's account of the timing and reasons for the ending of this partisanship typically implies a particular picture of the mechanisms that supported the press's political advocacy. Michael Schudson and Daniel Schiller, for example, situate the beginnings of the end of our partisan press in the "penny papers" of the 1830s.[2] Schudson depicts a mixture of government patronage of newspapers and a circulation confined to the politically oriented elite as part of the explanation for the newspapers' strong allegiances to either the Republican or Federalist parties. But in the 1830s, Schudson says, the market and the polity expanded to incorporate all the (white, male) citizens. This transformation of the Jacksonian era destroyed the old economic and cultural supports for press partisanship.

Michael McGerr, on the other hand, locates the change much later, in the 1870s to 1890s, in the political-cultural movement of the Liberal Republicans. McGerr's argument in timing and causes is in greater proximity to this paper's. He dismisses purely economic explanations for the changes in the press's political content. He tells us that the ending of party subsidies and government patronage to newspapers along with expanding market opportunities meant a newspaper could pursue a sales and profit maximizing strategy of political neutrality. But he asserts that "by themselves, the material changes in the newspaper business did not destroy partisan journalism. . . . [E]ditors had been willing partners, not slaves, of party. Freed by their profits, they did not necessarily want to run away."[3] For McGerr, the historian needs to explain the change in attitude towards politics by paper editors and publishers, a change in cultural views which he discovers in the elite, political movement of Liberal Republicans.

Here McGerr joins numerous other writers in equating the market with political neutrality or, even, journalistic objectivity.[4] Without the political restraints and cultural obstacles to a newspaper's pure pursuit of profit, such as government subsidies and party patronage or political views strongly held by

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2. Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News* (New York: Basic, 1978) and Daniel Schiller, *Objectivity and the News* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).

3. Michael McGerr, *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865–1928* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 110, 112.

4. Other examples are Gerald Baldasty and Jeffrey Rutenbeck, "Money, Politics and Newspapers: The Business Environment of Press Partisanship in the Late 19th Century," *Journalism History* 15 (Summer/Autumn 1988). But on page 68 they provide an important alternative view to their straightforward opposition of market versus politics, profits versus press partisanship. This alternative more closely corresponds to the view of this essay. Another example is Daniel Hallin "The American News Media: A Critical Theory Perspective," in *Critical Theory and Public Life*, ed. John Forester (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985), 128–29, but see his qualification on page 144.

editors and publishers, papers would adopt a posture of political neutrality. Journals would select the political lowest-common-denominator in order to offend as few readers as possible.

Against McGerr's internal focus on the attitudes of editors and his overly simple economic analysis, this essay returns to the external economic environment and wishes to complicate McGerr's depiction. It is necessary to consider the total economic environment, the "ecological context," and more specifically the other set of newspapers that constitute rivals for the given, available market resources.[5] This "organization-set" analysis suggests that in a competitive newspaper environment, the rational economic strategy for maximizing a journal's audience and profits cannot be a mass appeal to an undifferentiated audience. As Glenn Carroll says, mass, unspecialized newspapers will "aim for the center of the market but are forced to differentiate themselves from their competitors by developing some unique or special appeal."[6] An undifferentiated sales appeal will lose readers to journals that more precisely tailor their editorial content to an audience segment's particular desires. Just as with the competitive market of radio stations that find it necessary to appeal to specialized musical tastes, publishers in nineteenth-century America could and did appeal to a reading audience stratified along class, ethnic, and partisan lines.

As a matter of fact, researchers studying other countries have documented a national press that is divided up according to party affiliations and political preferences. But these authors explain the political specialization of these newspapers exclusively by the partisan segmentation of the subscribing audiences, not by reference to competitive newspaper strategies. "[N]ewspapers consistently shift to a strategy of audience-maximization through the adoption of generalized content materials. [But] the extent to which this shift can take place is a function of the degree of polarization and segmentation in the reading audience." Most particularly, it is party preferences and political cleavages that "prevented a shift towards a non-controversial content. Attempts to maintain a neutral attitude were not well received by the readership."[7] My analysis of the parti-

5. Paul Hirsch writes that any culture-producing organization can be studied from three angles: its occupational roles, professional culture, and attitudes; its organizational structure—that is, its division of labor and its coordination; and its organization's political and (mainly) economic environment. This paper concentrates on the last level. See Hirsch's "Occupational, Organizational and Institutional Models in Mass Media Research: Toward an Integrated Framework," in *Strategies for Communication Research*, ed. Peter Miller, Paul Hirsch, and F. Gerald Kline (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1977), 17.

6. Glenn Carroll, "Concentration and Specialization: Dynamics of Niche Width in Populations of Organizations," *Organizational Behavior and Industrial Relations*, Working Paper no.2 (Berkeley: University of California, March 1984), 17.

7. Terry Amburgey, Marjo-Riitta Lehtisalo, and Dawn Kelly, discuss the case of Norway in "Suppression and Failure in the Party Press," in *Ecological Models of Organizations*, ed. Glenn Carroll (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1988), 155, 157.

sanship of Detroit newspapers joins this focus on audiences segmented by party loyalty to Carroll's emphasis on the role of a competitive market in enforcing such specialized appeals.

In the second half of the nineteenth-century, despite the decline of government and party patronage of newspapers, and despite the increase in capital investment in the press and the rising influence of advertisers, the press remained partisan.[8] Historians seeking to explain this continued press partisanship must look not only at the persistence of partisan attitudes among editors and publishers, and not only at the lingering importance of political subsidies to papers, but also at the market environment. Partisanship, imposed by the market demand of a readership with set political loyalties and by politicians as investors seeking the appropriate amount of political publicity, was a crucial source of financial support. Thus an examination of Detroit daily newspapers in the period 1865 to 1900 will show us the market pressures and constraints confronting newspaper publishers and editors and how they managed to negotiate the balance of party, audience, and advertiser.

While ecological theories of the competitive market's impact on the editorial strategies of individual newspaper organizations may be a construct of twentieth-century social science,

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8. An important monograph on the workings of patronage from state and local governments to partisan newspapers is Carolyn Stewart Dyer, "Political Patronage of the Wisconsin Press, 1849–1860: New Perspectives on the Economics of Patronage," *Journalism Monographs* no.109 (February 1989). Because Dyer confines her analysis to one time period, she does not speculate on when and why such patronage ended, nor how the abrogation of such financial subsidies affected the partisan news content of papers. See page 4 and footnote 121.

On the national level, the definitive account of governmental patronage is Culver H. Smith, *The Press, Politics and Patronage* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977). Smith reports that governmental political payoffs were ended in the years 1860–1875. However, the consequences that this poses for press partisanship are unclear. On page 231 Smith writes that although federal subsidies to papers were abolished, "now plenty of party newspapers existed, distributed over the country with advertising incomes and large subscription lists, and not dependent upon party subsidies." But on page 246 he suggests the opposite view: that the ending of governmental subsidies meant the end of formal press partisanship. Also see pages xi–xii, 3, 12–13, 58–60, 231, 241, 246–47.

This vagueness has not stopped other historians from using Smith to say that the ending of governmental patronage was the crucial factor in the ending of press partisanship. Daniel Schiller, for example, writes, "In his major interpretation of patronage and party journalism at the national level, Smith details the development of the party press up to its final eclipse in 1875." Schiller, *Objectivity and the News*, 12. And see Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 65.

In his "The Nineteenth-Century Origins of Modern American Journalism," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 100 (October 1991), part 2, Gerald Baldasty discusses the influence of advertisers (409–15) and the increasing business-profit orientation of the press (411–15). He also adduces other factors important for "changes in the political role of the press," and its growing independence from parties by the end of the nineteenth century—for example, growing citizen independence from parties and popular distrust of government (415).

such ideas were not totally foreign to the nineteenth-century. Indeed, Gilded Age newspaper entrepreneurs developed remarkably similar theories to guide themselves in investing in and maintaining profitable press enterprises. For example, James E. Scripps, founder of the innovative, cheap, and politically independent *Detroit News* outlined a similar notion of audience segmentation, market niches, or in his words market "fields," in his address to a convention of Michigan newspaper publishers. In his speech on "Some Elements of Success in Journalism," Scripps argued against too many papers competing for the limited resources of a city's market. "Newspapers are planted by scores in places and under circumstances in which they cannot by any possibility succeed and this in great measure accounts for the great number of newspaper failures." And, "the remedy for supernumerary papers is consolidation."

But beyond arguing for a reduction in the number of papers in order to benefit from economies of scale, Scripps was urging newspapers to specialize, in order to possess "a sufficient field." What a "field" is becomes clear in his subsequent discussion:

> As a rule, there is never a field for a second paper of precisely the same characteristics as one already in existence. A Democratic paper may be established where there is already a Republican; or vice versa; an afternoon paper where there is only a morning; a cheap paper where there is only a high-priced one; but I think I can safely affirm that an attempt to supplant an existing newspaper . . . of exactly the same character has never succeeded. . . .
>
> So strongly am I impressed with the disadvantages under which papers other than the leading ones labor that I would even abandon the profession rather than waste my energies upon a newspaper that was not in some important respects at the head of the list. . . . All other positions involve only years of toilsome labor and no reward.[9]

Thus, Scripps claims that any new journal must appeal to a major market segment not previously addressed by another newspaper. Otherwise the publisher will be permanently a second-place paper and, consequently, crippled in the race for sales and advertising dollars. Furthermore, he suggests that the ma-

9. James E. Scripps, "Some Elements of Success in Journalism," in *Proceedings of the Michigan Press Association*, Twelfth Annual Meeting (1879), Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

10. Scripp's recommendations were generally followed by publishers in the late nineteenth century. Peter Knights, in a summary of census data, found that the second and third daily newspaper entrants into a city's market tended to differentiate themselves from earlier established papers on the basis of time of publication and party affiliation. See Knights, "'Competition' in the U.S. Daily Newspaper Industry, 1865–68," *Journalism Quarterly* 45(Autumn 1968): 473-480.

jor market appeals are predicated on price, partisan editorial content, and whether the paper is published in the morning or evening.[10]

Now I turn to a number of key episodes in Detroit newspaper history from 1865 to 1900. The conflicts surrounding the *Free Press* in 1872, the *Advertiser and Tribune* in 1866, and the *Tribune* from 1891 to 1896 highlight how market dynamics and politically divided audiences helped perpetuate partisan newspapers.

During the summer and fall election season of 1872 a crisis struck Detroit's leading Democratic newspaper, the *Free Press*. These events provide an illuminating example of the political and economic pressures on a paper, pressures that arise from a market segment of partisan readers when the newspaper deviates from their expectations of its appropriate partisan content. As the national campaign of 1872 approached, the Democratic party desperately sought an electoral strategy to reverse their persistent and strong losses to the Republicans. That campaign would see the "bolting" of a group of upper-class Republican reformers who, disgusted with the corrupt administration of President Grant, established an independent party known as the Liberal Republicans. The Democrats, hoping to capitalize on this Republican disaffection, also nominated the Liberal Republicans' presidential candidate Horace Greeley. However, this selection and endorsement of Greeley reversed a number of Democratic policy stands, for up until then Greeley, in his strong, outspoken editorial stands in the *New York Tribune*, had always supported abolition, black civil rights, and Republican reconstruction policies and had bitterly attacked the Democrats. This act of political expediency was a "hard worm to swallow," and many Democratic faithful and old timers rebelled.[11]

The *Detroit Free Press* was a long-standing Democratic newspaper, indeed the leading one in Michigan. Its service to the party had gained it the typical rewards of state printing contracts, postmaster positions for its publishers and a body of loyal readers.[12] But its part-owners, Colonel Freeman Norvell and Henry Walker, were two Democratic faithful who rebelled at the swallowing of so many Democratic principles and so much Democratic pride.

According to the reminiscences of reporter Edward Holden, the remaining proprietor of the *Free Press*, editor William Quinby, "took alarm" at Norvell and Walker's daily, strident repudiation and denunciation of Greeley in the pages of their journal: "[Quinby] believed the *Free Press* would lose prestige among the steadfast loyal and intelligent followers and leaders of the Democratic party should it prove disloyal to the party's offi-

11. Harry W. Baehr, Jr., *The New York Tribune Since the Civil War* (New York: Octagon, 1972), chapter 6.
12. George Catlin, "Little Journeys in Journalism: Wilbur F. Storey," *Michigan History Magazine* 10 (October 1926): 519-523.

cial actions. . . . In his opinion the party could better afford to support the absurd nomination of Mr. Greeley than go to pieces over such an issue."[13] Indeed, Quinby only needed to consult the pages of one of his competitors to observe this threat mobilizing. For example, the daily, afternoon workers' paper, the *Union*, was glad to publicize the *Free Press*'s difficulties.

Likewise, the Republican journals, the *Advertiser and Tribune* and the *Post*, were quick to highlight these divisions within the Democratic party. The *Union* ran one story entitled "The Free Press Censured By A Democratic Convention":

> The Clinton County Democratic Convention . . . passed a resolution censoring the *Free Press* for its actions in not publishing the speeches of leading Democrats at the late Greeley ratification meeting at the Young Men's Hall.
>
> It is due to the *Free Press* to say that the reason the speeches were not published is because no pay was offered that paper for doing so. The call for the meeting was published by the *Free Press* and paid for by the Democrats of this city. It was supported by the committee who had the matter in charge that the *Free Press* would publish the proceedings as a matter of news. Democrats through out the state will take notice, however, the *Free Press* is no longer a *news* paper, at least as far as the publishing of the proceedings of democrats meetings is concerned—unless it is paid for it.[14]

The Republican *Post* gloated at the disarray in Detroit's Democratic ranks after the Democrats' Baltimore convention had nominated Greeley in July. They published this letter-to-the-editor:

> A DEMOCRATIC PAPER WANTED
>
> To the Editor of the Detroit Post:
>
> Help is wanted. The Democracy are without a paper. Anxious squads of Democrats were about the news room and post office today awaiting the arrival of the *Free Press*, and hopeful that its leader would be for Greeley and Brown—but oh! the disappointment! The *Free Press* can't see it, and consequently the subscribers can't see the *Free Press* and nearly all are ordering the *Free Press* stopped. Torn

13. Edward G. Holden, "Little Journeys in Journalism: Recollections of Some Prominent Members of the Free Press Staff," *Michigan History Magazine* 11 (October 1927): 427.

14. *Detroit Daily Union*, 1 July 1872, 2. Among other articles, also see 7 July 1872, 2, and 5 May 1872.

15. *Detroit Post*, 13 July 1872, 1. Also see 16 July, 2, and 17 July, 3, and the *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, 3 and 8 July 1872, and 10 July 1872, 2.

Similarly, the *Cincinnati Commercial* lost readers and advertising when it bolted from the Republicans to the Liberals in the same 1872 election. See the account

> and mutilated *Free Presses* are upon the street. . . . What shall be done?[15]

Editor Quinby, recognizing the mounting threat to the fortune and future of Michigan's "leading organ of the Democratic Party," opposed the political stand of part-owner Norvell.[16] A stalemate developed where one side or the other would have to cave in. Other newspapers predicted the abrupt surrender of the *Free Press* to the political and economic pragmatics of the situation.

SWALLOWING A CANDIDATE

> [T]omorrow or the next day we shall see the *Detroit Free Press* going through the same process [as the *New York World*] in a small way. Like an ancient hen struggling with a piece of garbage whose dimensions were not accurately estimated beforehand, the [*Free Press*] will be seen choking away at the subject for a while. . . . But it will worry Greeley down and . . . advocate the ticket.[17]

Finally, after a period of "painful suspense," Quinby succeeded in raising the capital needed to buy out Colonel Norvell's interests, and the *Free Press* was able to swallow "the garbage" of the Greeley nomination.[18] Quinby ran the *Free Press* as the state's major Democratic organ until the political upheavals of 1896. For such loyal service he received an ambassadorship in 1891 as well as large newspaper profits.[19]

The first point of this vignette is that the *Free Press* directly appealed to a political community and political interests that

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in Donald Curl, *Murat Halstead and the Cincinnati Commercial* (Boca Raton: University Presses of Florida, 1983), 72–73.

Milton McRae describes similar dynamics for Chicago papers around 1895 in his *Forty Years in Newspaperdom* (New York: Bretano's, 1924), 130–31.

16. Despite the evident economic threat to the profits of the *Free Press* and despite the recollections of Quinby's colleague, it would be impossible to determine for sure whether Quinby's motive was the pragmatic pursuit of personal profit or the pragmatic support for his party without regard for its change in policies and principles.

Both, the issues stimulating the particular conflict in the editorial offices of the *Free Press* and the pragmatic stance of editor Quinby, can be viewed in the context of a broader shift in American politics at this time. According to the historian Morton Keller, during the administration of President Grant, 1868–76, parties shifted from being parties of principle to "organizational parties." They dumped the policies, ideologies, and antagonisms that had exploded in the Civil War and Reconstruction and, instead, made the pursuit of governmental office and political power their central goal. The Democrats' 1872 campaign with its "new direction" was precisely part of this conscious distancing from past ideological and policy stances. See Keller *Affairs of State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), chapter 7, and Eric Foner, *Reconstruction* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 484–87.

17. *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, 10 July 1872, 2.

18. Holden, "Recollections of the *Free Press* Staff," 427.

19. Brewster Campbell and Edgar Guest, "William E. Quinby," in *Michigan and the Cleveland Era*, ed. Earl Babst and Lewis Vander Velde (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948),207-221.

expected the paper to perform in a clear partisan manner: endorsing and supporting the party's candidates and policies, and not just in editorials but in news.[20] Second, when the paper departed too far from these partisan standards, criticisms and threats would arise from party leaders and loyal party readers. But part of the market logic that I am describing involves competition; it is the competitive threat of a rival journal, which more closely mirrors the interests and views of the audience segment, that compels the politically wayward newspaper to retreat to a posture of loyalty to the party's endorsed candidates and platform. And, indeed, while it is impossible to recapture today Quinby's actual set of motives, in 1872 the *Free Press* was threatened by both real and potential Democratic rivals.

In the summer of 1872, breathing down the neck of the *Free Press* and attempting to make the best of this break between the party and its official organ, was the *Detroit Daily Union*. The *Union* had endorsed and fought for Greeley as the Democrats' candidate immediately following his Liberal Republican nomination in May. As the *Free Press* resisted the Democratic party's selected ticket and as protests rolled in, the *Union* added as much wood to the fire as possible, and proclaimed itself the state's number one Democratic party organ, to the heated protests of the *Free Press*.[21]

There was yet another potential competitive challenge to the *Free Press*'s economic viability and its monopoly of the Democratic market segment in 1872. Quinby "had also heard threats

20. It is not my point here to describe fully the nature and extent of press partisanship. I provide only a rudimentary outline: First, newspapers maintained a formal explicit affiliation with their party. They were quasi-public spokespersons for their preferred party and they took other newspapers as their polemical opponents. They endorsed the party's slate of candidates. Typically, this endorsement was continuously printed from the time of the national and state nominating conventions up until the election. Various party meetings and rallies were announced through the journals' pages. Editorials argued the policy viewpoints of the party. Election victories and rallies were typically reported triumphantly and in inflated prose. Speeches and interviews with party officials were reprinted verbatim. News tended to focus on the affairs of Congress. In more politicized periods—in Reconstruction or at especially crucial elections such as that of 1896—news stories would be selected as to how they highlighted and supported the favored party's policy positions.

As can be seen by this description, press partisanship fluctuated between election times and non-election times. Furthermore, as Baldasty has stated, from the antebellum to postbellum period there was a fundamental shift—a greater and greater emphasis on news as against editorials. Baldasty, "The Nineteenth-Century Origins of Modern American Journalism," 408–9. Other descriptions can be found in Jensen, *Winning of the Midwest*, 4–6; McGerr, *Decline of Popular Politics*, 17–22, 110–12, 124, 132–34.

21. See the *Union's* "prospectus," 22 May 1872, and its articles on 14 May and 1 June 1872.

22. Holden, "Recollections of the *Free Press* Staff," 427. In 1880 a series of feature articles, entitled "Our Journalists," appeared in the weekly *Every Saturday* and described the newspapermen of Detroit. In the sketch of editor Quinby this same

that influential Democrats were talking of establishing a loyal rival to the *Free Press* in case of its faithlessness to the party."[22] Quinby knew better than to believe such threats were idle. As a Detroit newspaperman since 1861 he doubtlessly knew the story of my second case study, the Republican *Advertiser and Tribune* in 1866. After the Civil War the *Advertiser and Tribune* had similarly bucked the candidates and the control of the state party.[23] Consequently, in 1866 a joint stock company of "prominent members of the [Republican] party in Michigan" established a rival official Republican journal, the *Detroit Post*, under the editorship of the prestigious politician Carl Schurz.

This leads to our third point. Much of the capital invested in the nineteenth-century newspaper (at least in Detroit) came from politicians and party officials who were pursuing elected offices and attempting to enhance their political power and prestige.[24] Not only did a given partisan market segment and the threat of other newspaper rivals serve as impetus for papers to express clear partisan loyalties, but such partisan correctness was enforced also by a party elite with the threat of their establishing an alternative organ.

One complication here is that both the Democratic and Republican parties often were split and riven by factions.[25] At stake in these mundane conflicts were the distribution of election spoils and government positions such as postmasters and custom house clerks; or, alternatively, there were significant issues and policies to be fought over, such as civil service reform or Southern reconstruction. There was no way for any newspaper to remain loyal to all factions (although some tried by a stance of neutrality between the factions).[26]

Early on, Michigan enacted such conflicts within the Repub-

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claim is repeated: "Mr. Quinby, with rare sagacity, saw that the refusal of the Free Press to support the regular [1872] nominee of the party of which it was the acknowledged state organ would result in the establishment of a rival paper." Joseph Greusel Papers, Scrapbook vol. 13, Burton Historical Archives, Detroit Public Library.

23. In fact, such events were also known to the public-at-large; press rivals to the *Post* attacked it for being dependent upon the whims of its Republican party owners and pointed out the conditions of its founding. For example, the *Union* on 12 November 1868 wrote "Zack [Senator Zachariah Chandler] found on his last election to the Senate that his influence was on the wane, notwithstanding his lavish use of money, and that unless he could have under his control a leading newspaper organ of the party... his chance for re-election at this time would be small. Having lost caste with the [*Advertiser and*] *Tribune*, he set himself to work to establish for that paper a rival, and the *Post* was the result." Also see the *Advertiser and Tribune*, 7 January 1871.

24. See Dyer, "Political Patronage of the Wisconsin Press," 2–5, 26–27.

25. In the 1870s the major Republican factions were the Stalwarts and the Halfbreeds. See Keller, *Affairs of State*, chapter 7. Senator Zachariah Chandler was a Stalwart.

26. Baehr describes the scramble to invest in and gain control over the *New York Tribune* by different New York Republican factions after Horace Greeley's death on 29 November 1872. Baehr, *New York Tribune.*, chapter 7.

lican party and these battles embroiled the Detroit Republican press. The party divided between Michigan's senior senator, Zachariah Chandler, with his allies, and the *Advertiser and Tribune*, with upstate Republicans. According to which account one reads, the factional antagonism centered on Chandler's aggressive Radical Reconstruction stance, his iron-fisted control of the state party, his failure to fairly distribute political spoils, or his vulgar personality. Journalist Edward Holden described the events:

> The *Post* was established by Senator Zachariah Chandler and his political "machine." The *Detroit Tribune* had so prospered during the [civil] war that it had begun "feeling its oats," indulged in more or less independence and had the temerity to criticize Mr. Chandler's rule of "blood and iron" in Michigan. This was *lese-majeste*, and the *Post* was set up for the purpose of both offsetting the lukewarm if not hostile influence of the *Tribune* and at the same time properly chastizing it.[27]

The introduction of the *Post* brought about an immediate decline in the circulation and profits of the *Advertiser and Tribune*.[28] The *Post* survived only until 1877, but for those twelve years insults, arguments, and "mud" flew between the two Republican papers.[29]

Thus, in this case capital was invested in a journal to gain the appropriately supportive publicity for the policies and electoral campaigns of various politicians and party officials, as a closer look at "political capital" in Detroit papers will confirm.[30]

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27. Edward Holden, "Carl Schurz in Michigan," *Michigan History Magazine* 2 (1918): 69. Also see the account by William Stocking, "Prominent Newspaper Men in Michigan," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* 39(Summer 1915): 163-165.

28. Changes in the circulation and income of the *Advertiser and Tribune* are described in the article "Interesting Inside History," *Libel News*, 9 April 1894, Burton Historical Archives, Detroit Public Library. This news article (convincingly) claims to be based on the minutes from the board meetings of the *Advertiser and Tribune*. The minutes were retrieved from an "old junk shop."

Circulation for the paper reached a high in April 1865 with an average daily sales of 10,944. By the end of the year circulation was in rapid decline, with an average of 5,832 in December 1865. By April 1866 it was back up to 6,168 copies when the *Post* started publication. One month later the circulation was down to 5,256. By May 1866 the sales were 4,938 and in July 4,680. As is apparent from the figures, sales were "going downhill," even before the introduction of the *Post*, perhaps due to the end of the war. After the *Post* began, subscriptions continued to plummet.

29. "Mud flew" is how the *Detroit Union* described it on 12 November 1868, 2. For examples of the *Advertiser and Tribune*'s anti-Chandler and anti-*Post* editorials and news, see 28 November 1868, 2; 7 January 1871, 2; 11 July 1872; 1–7 January 1875. At one point it calls the *Post* "the Daily Chandler Suckling."

30. In looking at the political capital invested in Detroit's dailies I neglect the German papers and the various short-term newspapers such as the *Telegram* and the *Times*.

First, the *Post* had Senator Chandler's money, as we know but also had among its stockholders Senate candidate William Howard, Governor Henry H. Crapo, and future senator Thomas Ferry.[31] In 1877 the *Post* and *Advertiser and Tribune* merged to form the *Post and Tribune*. In 1880 this fairly delapidated party sheet received a capital transfusion. Future senator and Republican boss James McMillan "who was beginning to entertain political ambitions and the hope of securing a party leadership in Michigan, bought a considerable part of Hiram Walker's interests. He found the load rather heavy so on March 3rd, 1881, he induced several staunch Republicans to combine with him." These investors included Republican bigwig and 1883 candidate for the senate James Joy and future governor Russell Alger.[32] In 1891 the paper was sold to independent publisher James Scripps. At the time of its sale, among its owners was Senator Francis Stockbridge.[33]

Second, the Democratic *Free Press*, until Quinby acquired control in 1872, was not so much a matter of politicians owning stock, as much as being run and edited by part-time politicians, such as editors Wilbur Storey and Henry Walker. They supplemented their newspaper income with the party spoils of printing contracts and awarded political appointments.[34] In 1905 Quinby sold controlling interest to a group consisting of Republican William McMillan, the son of Senator James McMillan and himself a senatorial hopeful, Republican leader and congressman Colonel Frank Hecker, and Charles Freer.[35]

The Republican *Detroit Journal* was founded in 1883 and by 1884 was floundering and needed new funds. "The new investors made their venture because one of the liveliest and most bitter modern presidential campaigns was coming on and they hoped to profit politically if not financially and to be able to unload the *Journal* on other venturers."[36] In 1886 and again in 1892 Senator Thomas Palmer invested large sums of money in the two-cent afternoon *Journal*.[37] In 1908, reviewing this earlier period, the *Journal* characterized its politics and ownership in a derogatory manner: "The *Journal* as an old-fashioned Republican party paper made no progress and no financial success.

31. Thomas Applegate, "History of the Press of Michigan," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* 6 (Spring 1907): 66.
32. George B. Catlin, "Detroit Journalism," MS, George B. Catlin Papers, Burton Historical Archives, Detroit Public Library.
33. *Detroit Free Press*, 19 January 1891, 5.
34. Frank Angelo, *On Guard: A History of the Detroit Free Press* (Detroit: Detroit Free Press, 1981), chapters 3–4.
35. Angelo, *On Guard*, 115–16.
36. George B. Catlin, "Story of the *Detroit Journal*, 1883–1892," MS, George B. Catlin Papers, Burton Historical Archives.
37. Catlin, "Story of the *Detroit Journal*, 1883–1892."
38. Actually an article from the *Kalamazoo Telegraph* reprinted in the *Journal*, 16 October 1908, 12.

The Republican office holders and office seekers looked upon the *Journal* then as a sort of ladder by which to climb up to the plums, and when the plums were reached, the ladder was kicked over to paddle its own canoe.[38]

Detroit's fourth major daily of this period, the *Daily Union*, was formed in a printer's strike and styled itself a radical Democratic newspaper. One of its owners, Thomas Hawley, was a Democratic city alderman in the 1870s.[39] The evening *Union* was sold in 1874 to Scripps's *Evening News*. The independent *Evening News* would mainly rely on the capital of James Scripps and funds he gathered from his brothers and sister.

To summarize, political capital played a substantial role in Detroit's newspapers, especially in the papers of the Republican party, which was the dominant party in Michigan. This political capital supported the newspapers' role as political communicators—as papers designed to propagate a partisan public opinion—instead of merely commercial vehicles. Of course, the resulting political journalism was rather narrowly defined to support the interests of the party and its candidates. Political capital promoted a partisan content directly, through the control of newspapers by political party interests, and indirectly, by the threat of potential competitors for a market segment, as we have seen in the case of the the *Post* against the *Advertiser and Tribune*, or in the example of the *Free Press* in 1872. Furthermore, this political capital stimulated press partisanship by its founding and financing of new or struggling journals, thus ensuring tight newspaper competition and the necessity of (partisan) market specialization.

But, beyond the political consequences of this competitive threat from new or existing newspapers, there were economic consequences. Even politically motivated investors could not entirely neglect profit, and there were too many newspapers competing for the same market share for all to profit.

To be sure, this was one of the points of *Detroit News* owner James Scripps's address to the state convention of publishers. He polemicized against the entry of a second newspaper into any given market segment. Further, he explicitly took the feud and competition for the Republican market share as one of his examples of economically disadvantageous competition. But by 1878 Scripps noted that "unhealthy competition" in Detroit had been "done away with by the daily press resolving itself

39. *Detroit Journal*, 31 January 1894, 4.

40. Scripps, "Some Elements of Success." This thinking typically guided Scripps and his brother Edward of the Scripps-McRae (later the Scripps-Howard) newspaper chain. The founding of the *Detroit News* was seen at the time as innovating a down-market, afternoon, short, and condensed paper that was cheap, politically independent, pro-labor and also sensationalist. This was the typical marketing strategy and market segment aimed at by Scripps's chain of newspapers (albeit usually Democratic) and, we may add, the new journalism of Pulitzer and the *New York World*. See *I Protest: Selected Disquisitions of E. W.*

into two good dailies of the opposite politics and one strong independent afternoon journal [i.e. the *Free Press, Post and Tribune,* and Scripps's *Evening News*]."[40] In 1875 Chandler had been defeated for re-election to the United States Senate. The two Republican papers, having lost the reason for continuing their economically harmful competition, merged in 1877.[41]

There is an obvious counter-argument to this essay's assertion that competition for delimited market segments (as defined by the readers' political inclinations) supported continued newspaper partisanship. By owning and controlling newspapers, party officials and candidates ensured that the newspaper pursued a partisan editorial policy. However, in both the case of Quinby's *Free Press* and the case of the *Tribune* from 1891 to 1896, the publisher of the journal had no clear political interests but still marketed his paper to a particular, partisan, audience segment.

Consider the case of the *Tribune* in the 1890s. For some commentators Michigan's premiere Republican publication, the *Post and Tribune,* never quite overcame the damages to its finances and sales incurred in the earlier rivalry between the two factions of the party and their respective organs. Their competition "finally resulted in the demise of both papers and the conversion [in 1896] of one of the fiercest Democratic journals in the United States into a Republican organ, still bearing its original name, the *Free Press.*"[42] In 1891 the financially troubled Republican *Tribune* (previously the *Post and Tribune*) was sold to James Scripps, who always believed in buying competing press properties and consolidating them into his afternoon paper.

But this sale was contingent upon Scripps and his managing editor Michael Dee agreeing to run the *Tribune,* as formerly, as an advocate of Republican policies and candidates.[43] They should not, as they were with the *Evening News,* be independent and vaguely siding with the Democrats, nor engage in their usual advocacy of municipal ownership of the street railway system and the abolition of tariffs. Editor Dee telegraphed a wire to the head of the state Republican party, Senator James McMillan in Washington:

> Capt W H Stevens has *Tribune* matter in his control. Would you be kind enough to wire him early in morning . . . that you would be satisfied with me as director of Republican organ. He is a little fearful

Scripps, ed. Oliver Knight (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966) on the *Detroit News,* 27–28, 30, and 33, and on other Scripps publications, 38–41, 45, and 52–53.

41. See the announcement of merging *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune,* 13 October 1877, 2, and *Detroit Post and Tribune,* 14 October 1877, 4.

42. So says Holden writing in 1918; see his "Carl Schurz in Michigan," 69.

43. On Dee, see George Catlin, "Little Journeys in Journalism: Michael J. Dee," *Michigan Historical Magazine* 10 (January 1926):26-38.

44. Telegram from Michael Dee to Senator James McMillan, 15 January 1891,

> that I would be fool enough to sacrifice my business to my opinions. If you assure him on this point he would be satisfied I intend to make first class Republican paper and have abundant means to do it. [44]

Dee, perhaps for the sake of gaining control of the newspaper, suggested to McMillan that there was a business logic in his keeping the *Tribune* faithful to the G.O.P. This logic was due neither to Republican ownership nor Republican payoffs. It came from the party preferences of the *Tribune*'s subscribers. Further, Dee exclaimed that he was not about to sacrifice his economic well-being to maintain his political integrity. And, in fact, the *Tribune*, after its shift in ownership, diligently advocated Republican candidates and positions. One evidence of the *Tribune*'s continued Republican partisanship is the criticism by other Detroit papers; they were quick to note Dee and Scripps's lack of political integrity, their split political personality or political schizophrenia. An 1892 article in the Democratic *Free Press*, for example, spoke of "Mr. Scripps Entangled":

> Mr. Scripps' morning conundrum [the *Tribune*] bore false witness [against Democratic candidates] . . . it continues the charge of corruption. Meantime, the afternoon vent of Mr. Scripps' eccentricities [the *News*] seems to think very well of the Democratic city ticket. . . . This is Mr. Scripps' way. If he kicks a man in the morning, he will pat that same individual on the head before sunset. If he smites a citizen hip and thigh in the afternoon, he will apply balm to his wounds at the earliest opportunity in the day following. If he preaches [the Republican policy of] high protection in the [*Tribune*] organette, he can be relied upon to give tariff reform a boost [in the *News*]. . . . He roars honest money in the still watches of the night and howls free silver in the daytime. This is an infirmity with Mr. Scripps. He cannot help it. Consistency was omitted in his make-up. It is a misfortune because it leaves his utterances without the force of sincerity.[45]

While the shift in *Tribune* ownership appeared to the Democratic *Free Press* as an opportunity for political propaganda and jeering, to the Republican *Journal* it was an economic opportunity. The cheap evening *Journal* matches my model on three key points. First, it represents invested political capital of an individual or group of individuals pursuing political office. Second, it expressed the views of a political faction of the Republican party—in the 1890s, the views of reform Governor

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Senator James McMillan Business Papers, Burton Historical Archives. Also see *Free Press*, 19 January 1891, 5.

45. *Detroit Free Press*, 15 October 1892. And see similar attacks in the *Journal*, 26 January 1892.

Hazel Pingree's wing against those of Senator McMillan and his allies, who controlled the party organization and were backed by various large corporate interests. Lastly, the *Journal* competed with the *Tribune* for the same partisan market share, thus pressuring the *Tribune* to retain its circulation by heightening its appeal to Republican readers. For example, early in 1891, with the *Tribune* now of doubtful loyalty to the Republican party after its sale to Scripps, the *Journal* spied its chance to be the leading Republican periodical in the state. In a public announcement the *Journal*'s editor Brearley reasserted the partisan loyalties of the paper. Henceforth the *Journal* would not hide its explicit affiliation with the Republicans.[46] And, regularly in the early 1890s it proclaimed in a slogan on its editorial page "Larger Circulation than any other Republican Paper in Michigan."[47]

In any case, Scripps's *Tribune* trudged along the partisan path till 1896, a year of political upheaval for the two parties. In that year William Jennings Bryan captured the Democrats' presidential nomination for a diluted form of radical populism against the wishes of the party elite, "the Gold Democrats." In Detroit, like the rest of the nation, party leaders, voters, and newspapers deserted the party in droves.[48] The Democrats would become the substantially weaker party until the party realignment in 1932 and Franklin D. Roosevelt's election.

While the *Free Press* and its publisher Quinby quit the Democrats for McKinley and the Republicans, Scripps took the *News* and the *Tribune* into the populist camp.[49] The consequent turmoil at the *Tribune* provides one last example of the market pressures on a newspaper—incentives to report news with a partisan bias in order to retain the approval and subscriptions of Republican readers. Secondly, it also supports one of this essay's hypotheses about why the conditions that had sustained press partisanship in the United States ended. The segmentation of the market by the long-time, strongly felt loyalties of voters and readers to one party or the other was disrupted and ended by the massive shifts in voter allegiance in 1894–96, and

46. "Birth and Early Years of the Detroit Journal," *Detroit Journal*, 14 October 1908, 8–9.

47. See *Detroit Journal*, 21 February 1894.

48. On the nation's papers leaving the Democratic party in 1896 see Jensen, *Winning of the Midwest*, 272–75, and David Sarasohn, *The Party of Reform: Democrats in the Progressive Era* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1989), 10–11.

On national politics, party realignment and voting changes see Walter Dean Burnham, *The Current Crisis of American Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), chapters 1–4.

On Michigan politics in 1896, see Philip VanderMeer, "Political Crisis and Third Parties: The Gold Democrats of Michigan" *Michigan Historical Review* 15 (Fall 1989): especially 69–70 on newspapers.

49. See the *Free Press*'s "Declaration of Independence" from the Democratic party, 12 July 1896, 12.

50. Burnham, *Current Crisis of American Politics*, chapters 1-2. A second important change is the political reforms of the Progressive Era.

by the subsequent fall in voter turnout from 1896 to 1924.[50] But this takes us beyond the boundaries of my paper's topic.

The *Tribune*'s abrupt turn to the Democrats in 1896 restored "political integrity" to Scripps. He had for years attacked monopolies, the tariff, and political corruption. Now he could speak again with his "true" voice in signed editorials in the *Tribune*.[51] Of course, this change did not go unnoticed and protests by leading Republicans ensued. Ex-Governor Russell Alger, a longtime power in the state party, wrote to Scripps and the *Tribune*, pleading for a return to the Republican ranks:

> The *Tribune* has long been the leading Republican organ of the state and while you own its title and are paying its bills, still in a sense it is the property of the organization that has made the country great. It seems to me, it is your duty to permit it to heartily support both the ticket and platform. Can you not assure the Republicans of the state that, no matter what your views may be, the *Tribune* shall support the party heartily?[52]

Scripps for his part tried to move the Republican party in his direction and to conceal the break. He published articles implying that Michigan Republicans did not endorse the party's national platform of a "gold standard" for the currency. So the headlines of a page one story read: "STIRRED UP!" "Republicans in Michigan Don't Like Gold," "GIVE THEIR OPINION," "Majority of Them Favor the Platform of 1892," "WAS A GOOD THING," "The Tribune's Stand is Indorsed By Many Republicans."[53] Similarly, letters from readers were printed to demonstrate popular Republican support for the *Tribune*'s pro-silver, anti-gold position.[54] The *Journal* and other Republican papers around the state would have none of the *Tribune*'s tricks and angrily wrote Scripps and the *Tribune* out of the Michigan Republican party.[55]

In conclusion, this essay examined the interaction of the Detroit English-language dailies in the market environment from 1865 to 1900. It suggested that focusing on the ecological context—on the competitive situation confronting the papers—would help explain each individual newspaper's editorial content, marketing strategy, and political stance. From this view-

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51. See, for example, the signed editorial in the *Tribune*, 12 June 1896, 2.
52. Published 22 June 1896, 2, in the *Tribune*, with a reply by Scripps.
53. *Detroit Tribune*, 22 June 1896, 1, and 23 June 1896, 1.
54. See *Detroit Tribune*, 23 June 1896, 1–2, and 25 June 1896, 1.
55. The *Journal* reprints the comments of condemnation by various state newspapers on "The Tribune's Bolt," 1 July 1896, 4. And it refutes the *Tribune*'s claims that Michigan's Republicans have pro-silver currency views, 3 July 1896, 1.

Arthur Pound says that the *Tribune* "never quite recovered from its advocacy of 'free silver.'... [T]here clung to it the fatal odor of radicalism in a state turning from agrarian economics towards policies more in tune with its high future in manufacturing." *The Only Thing Worth Finding: The Life and Legacies of George Gough Booth* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1964), 146.

point it is clear that Detroit's journals split the available audience of newspaper readers into segments partially based on political preferences. As newspapers differentiated themselves on the basis of partisan appeals, the audiences and party elites developed expectations about the appropriate level of partisan bias in the news and editorials of their papers. These expectations, I argue, were enforced, on the one hand, by the threats of boycotts by readers and politicians and, on the other hand, by the risk that a rival newspaper would capture one's market share of partisan subscribers. "Political capital"—investment in newspapers for political reasons and by political factions—helped to perpetuate a competitive market environment for partisan papers. The result was that partisan newspapers continually felt pressure to appeal to a specialized, partisan market rather than to an undifferentiated, politically neutral one.*

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SCIENCE VERSUS SIZE

"Science" as a Keyword in the Newspaper Debate over Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting

Dennis Gildea

JOHN MORRISSEY DEFEATED John C. Heenan for the bare-knuckle prize fighting Championship of America in a celebrated bout that took place on 20 October 1858, at Long Point Island, a sandy spit of land on the Canadian side of Lake Erie. The fight was the occasion for extensive newspaper coverage and editorials critical of prize fighting, which had been gaining popularity in the United States only since the 1840s.

The first prize fight to gain considerable public and newspaper attention in the United States had been fought on 29 August 1842 between James Ambrose, a New York City saloonkeeper who was better known as Yankee Sullivan, and William Bell, an Englishman who was teaching sparring, a more gentlemanly version of pugilism, in Brooklyn. Ten steamboats transported approximately six thousand spectators from New York City to Hart's Island in Long Island Sound to watch Sullivan's win. The *Spirit of the Times* and other New York City newspapers covered the fight extensively, largely because Bell was considered the Protestant hope who could end Sullivan's "Hibernian crowing."

Legal and newspaper reaction to the death of Thomas McCoy in the ring during a fight with Christopher Lilly on 13 September 1842 would effectively halt the sport in New York City for over six years. However, a 7 February 1849 fight between Sullivan and Tom Hyer for the Championship of America would recapture newspaper and public attention. Hyer, a native-born Protestant butcher whose father, Jacob, fought one of the first recorded bare-knuckle fights in the United States, defeated Sullivan.

Ethnic and religious tensions fueled interest in this fight, and in boxing in gerneral throughout the 1840s. In 1842 an economic recession and the Catholic Church's demand for aid to parochial schools had helped fan the hatred. The 1849 Sullivan-Hyer fight coincided with the growing population of cities in the Northeast, a growing interest in commercialized leisure, and smoldering

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ethnic, religious, political, and labor tensions between native-born Protestants and recent Potato Famine Irish-Catholic immigrants.[1]

In the 1858 Morrissey-Heenan bout, these religious, ethnic, and class tensions would be articulated in a debate over whether boxing was a "science." Throughout the newspaper coverage, the term *science* was used frequently and with different connotations. The *New York Tribune*, for example, scoffed in an editorial at prize fighting's "show of science," suggesting that the sporting fraternity's allusions to science were merely a way of rationalizing an unredeemedly brutal activity.[2] On the other hand, Frank Queen's *New York Clipper*, a weekly devoted to coverage of sporting and theatrical news, consistently argued in favor of the "science of pugilism," and, in its coverage of the Heenan-Morrissey bout, disagreed with and specifically attacked other New York City papers on a number of points, including their argument that there was no "science" to the fight and that Morrissey was deficient in "scientific" skill. The *Clipper* wrote that "[Morrissey's] position also was artistic and excellent, and his guard showed him to possess a thorough knowledge of the science of offence and defence."[3] On another occasion, Queen maintained that scientific pugilism was a "necessary branch of education," and that the "science should be studied and bear its adequate fruits."[4]

Clearly, these newspapers disagreed on whether the term *science* should even be connected with prize fighting; and they disagreed further on whether the winner displayed even the least bit of pugilistic science. This disagreement raises some questions. What did the respective sides mean by *science*, and why was it important for the mainstream dailies to deny and for the *Clipper* to defend the scientific nature of the sport? Why did the *Tribune*, in particular, demean Morrissey's display of science, while the *Clipper* maintained the opposite? And, most significantly, what was the specific social context in which the *Clipper* ultimately used the term *science*?

This essay examines coverage in New York City newspapers of the Heenan-Morrissey fight, focusing on how and why the papers used the term *science*. In his history of sport in the New York City in the nineteenth century, Melvin Adelman makes the generally accepted argument that the press functioned as pro-

1. Sullivan, who came to New York in 1840, achieved fame in the London prize ring in the period of the sport's decline in popularity in England. Before his arrival in the United States, prize fighting was informal and sporadic. Sullivan is credited with introducing the 1838 London Prize Ring rules and a greater sense of business organization to the sport in America. On this point, see a pamphlet titled *American Fistiana*, reprinted in the *New York Herald*, 9 February 1849. Also see Elliott J. Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986), 69–73.
2. *Tribune*, 22 October 1858.
3. *Clipper*, 30 October 1858.
4. *Clipper*, 25 February 1860.

moters of the new ideology of sport as a health- and character-building activity.[5] This essay finds that the *Clipper*, in particular, fulfills that promotional function. But, just as significantly, the *Clipper* went beyond the rhetoric of sport as an improving recreation to state the case for scientific pugilism's importance and usefulness in the everyday lives of the working-class man of the city.

Ironically, in its follow-up coverage of the Heenan-Morrissey fight, the *Clipper* presents an argument for the civilizing and scientific nature of pugilism that locates these tendencies not in a regulated prize ring but in a saloon fight. In a ballad titled "Science Versus Size," the *Clipper* postulates a barroom fight between a smaller, working-class man and a larger upper-class man. Relying on his knowledge of pugilistic science, the smaller man wins. The win, the deliberate class orientation, and the saloon context, I will argue, are vital to and consistent with Queen's attempt to empower the working-class man in a cultural clash with bourgeois society. In addition, because Queen envisioned his paper as the voice of the working-class and sporting subculture, he used the ballad as another salvo in his clash with bourgeois newspapers.[6]

In studying the discourse of prize fight coverage, I follow the theory postulated and demonstrated by Raymond Williams in *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, and in Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of parody as a cultural force, which he employs in *Rabelais and His World*. Williams introduces the concept of a "social vocabulary" when he observes that the use of a particular word whose meaning may be in dispute is not a dictionary problem but a problem of vocabulary in which different values and "different formations and distributions of energy and interest" are invested by different groups in the same word. A dispute over meaning is not, he insists, a matter of one side's being right or wrong, but it is a matter of clashing cultural values being manifest in a word and its context. Significantly, however, a dispute over meaning may well be a case of "a temporarily dominant group (trying) to enforce its own uses as 'correct.'"[7] This would seem to be precisely what was at stake when the *Tribune* and the *Clipper* differed on the use of *science* as applied to prize fighting.

5. Melvin L. Adelman, *A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820–1870* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 269–86. John R. Betts makes the same argument in a seminal treatment of the topic, "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth-Century America," *American Quarterly* 5 (Spring 1953): 39–56.

6. In its first issue, the *Clipper* aligned itself philosophically and financially with the "masses." Queen's column noted: "Coming from among the masses, it is to them we mainly look for support.... [W]e can boast of no college education, and, therefore, cannot promise that vast fund of factual information, instruction and advice necessarily looked for from persons of class." *Clipper*, 7 May 1853.

7. Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 12–15.

In publishing the post-fight ballad, the *Clipper* used the debated term *science* to parody attacks by the mainstream press and to achieve a cultural "turnabout" of the hierarchical order, to use Bakhtin's term to describe what occurs during medieval carnival time.[8]

In order to understand how *science* was used in reference to prize fighting, a brief description of the professional stance of Frank Queen's *Clipper* in relation to the mainstream New York City dailies is essential. Queen was born of working-class parents in the Southwark section of Philadelphia, one of the city's poorest. Backed financially by Harrison Trent, he started the *Clipper* in 1853 as a weekly journal devoted to covering news of sport and the theater. Although his was not the only sporting journal of the antebellum period, Queen was the one editor who consistently argued for the values of the prize ring. In *Our Press Gang*, the first book-length critique of American journalism, Lambert Wilmer mentions Queen's special place of honor among the fight crowd as bearing witness to his expertise in "scientific blackguardism."[9]

In arguing the case of pugilism, Queen pitted himself against Horace Greeley's *Tribune*, Henry Raymond's *Times*, and James Gordon Bennett's *Herald*. The irony of that juxtaposition is that virtually all of the New York dailies opposed Bennett's brand of journalism. Greeley, in particular, referred to the *Herald* as a "Satanic" newspaper, although the *Tribune*'s and the *Herald*'s coverage of the Heenan-Morrissey fight was remarkably similar.[10]

Greeley was a New England-born intellectual and reformer, and both he and his paper were devoted to the "noblest principles of progressive civilization."[11] Greeley editorialized so often against the evils of prize fighting and gambling, and in favor of temperance legislation that Queen took to referring to him in the columns of the *Clipper* as "Old Morality" and to Raymond as "Young Morality," while referring sarcastically to the mainstream

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8. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 10–11.

9. Lambert Wilmer, *Our Press Gang: or, A Complete Exposition of the Corruptions and Crimes of the American Newspapers* (Philadelphia: J. T. Lloyd, 1859), 169. On Queen's role as the chief defender of the ring, see Betts, "Sporting Journalism," 42–43.

10. For Greeley's reference to "Satanic" newspapers, see the *Tribune*, 17 February 1849. For a discussion of the stormy professional and personal relationship between Bennett and the editors and publishers of other New York City dailies, see Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic, 1978), especially chapter 1 on the penny press, 12–60.

11. Benjamin Perley Poore, quoted in William David Sloan, James G. Stovall, and James Startt, *The Media in America: A History*, 2d ed. (Scottsdale, Ariz.: Publishing Horizons, 1993), 136.

12. *Clipper*, 16 May 1857. In its coverage of the Morrissey-Yankee Sullivan fight in 1853, the *Clipper* noted that anticipation of the result of the fight in New York City's "sporting houses" was running so high that "temperance

press in general as the "respectable press."[12]

Queen took particular delight in the fact that the "respectable press" felt it necessary to cover fights even as it railed against their immorality. Of course, one of the reasons the mainstream dailies covered the bouts was their popularity. People from all social classes hungered for news of the results.[13] For the Heenan-Morrissey fight, reporters from the *Tribune*, *Clipper*, *New York Times*, *Troy Times*, and at least two Buffalo newspapers, and a reporter and illustrator from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* magazine were among those who made the excursion across the lake. The newspaper attention is interesting because prize fighting was illegal by specific decree in Massachusetts and New Jersey, and outlawed under statutes against mayhem, riot, and disorderly conduct in other states. It was illegal in Canada, also, but Canadian authorities were more likely to ignore the law in favor of a good fight and a chance to get in on the gambling action.[14]

Newspaper and magazine coverage of the bout was typical of the coverage of other major fights of the period. Editors devoted considerable space to the fight, but invariably the stories were qualified by reportorial and editorial objections to prize fighting. The *Tribune*, for example, gave approximately a hundred column inches to fight coverage and also ran an editorial expressing moral indignation that the fight took place. The *Tribune* adopted a pro-Heenan stance, which is noteworthy and not surprising because loyalties in the fight ran along ethnic and political lines. Heenan, because he was a first-generation Irishman born in Troy and had only recently come to New York City from California and had not forged urban political ties, was the favorite of the native-born Americans. Morrissey, an Irish immigrant who was identified with the underworld and the Tammany Hall political machine, was the favorite of the foreign-born population, which for the

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was the order of the day, and even 'Old Morality' himself would have been delighted to spend an evening with 'the boys.' Horace must look out next time, and be on hand. There's lots of fun to be had with 'the boys.'" *Clipper*, 15 October 1853. Queen seems to have had "lots of fun" ridiculing his fellow editors. Henry Raymond of the *Times* soon became known in the *Clipper*'s pages as "Young Morality." See *Clipper*, 12 November 1853.

13. The *Tribune* began its story by referring to the public's interest in the fight: "Catering to the desire of the public, and to the duty of reporting the fights as well as the hangings and the murders of the community... we have given the particulars of this contest—the chronicle of blood, bruises, pluck, desperation and defeat." *Tribune*, 22 October 1858. In his "City Summary" column in the *Clipper*, Queen wrote: "Fight! Fight! Go where you will there is no other subject talked of but 'fight.' If you attend the opera, the theatre... or even that 'great symbol of morality,' the Museum, you have to listen to some sporting tyre for fistic honors." *Clipper*, 30 October 1858.

14. Gorn, *Manly Art*, 103–273.

15. Gorn, *Manly Art*, 116–17. The *Tribune* noted in its coverage that Heenan's colors for the fight were "the stars and stripes, in red, white and blue." 22 October 1858. The *Clipper* tried to deflate the native American versus foreign-born aspect of the fight in its responses to readers' questions. See *Clipper*, 6 November 1858.

most part consisted of Irish.[15]

The *Tribune* rationalized Morrissey's victory by referring to his animalistic ability to absorb punishment while continuing to fight: "At present the feeling of all who witnessed the battle is that Morrissey's winning was solely due to his undoubted pluck and astonishing power of enduring severe punishment, and not in the least degree to any science displayed by him."[16] The *Tribune* was not alone in this stance. The *New York Daily Times*, as it was known then, and the *New York Herald* also railed against the fight and its scientific claims. The *Herald* observed that "this very fight between Morrissey and Heenan has made as much town talk as if it were some great achievement of science or wonderful exhibition of strategic skill on the battle field."[17] The *Herald* insisted that the fight was less a matter for celebration, as would be the case with a "great achievement of science," and more a matter for social concern and legal reaction. The *Tribune*, in a headline announcing Morrissey's win, decried the fight as a "BRUTAL AND BLOODY BATTLE" that painted a "VIVID PICTURE OF MODERN CIVILIZATION."[18]

The connection between civilization and science in this context is worth exploring. In *Keywords*, Williams links changes in the social meaning of *science* with changes in the idea of *nature*, indicating that in the middle of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century *science* emerged as meaning the "theoretical and methodical study of nature." A "scientist" became an objective seeker after the truth of the universal laws of nature.[19] *Civilization*, he observes, is allied with *science* in the sense that *civilization* by the eighteenth century came to suggest "not so much a process as a state of social order and refinement" that has behind it "the general spirit of the Enlightenment, with its emphasis on secular and progressive human self-development."[20] When editors such as Greeley, Raymond, and Bennett contrasted *science* with prize fighting's "show of science," clearly they had in mind the link between demonstrations of the universal laws of nature and a form of human nature that is progressive. Rather than being progressive—and American, for that matter—pugilism was regressive and foreign.[21]

The *Clipper*, of course, adopted a different stance toward the science of pugilism. Whereas the *Tribune* and the other dailies contended that Morrissey exhibited brute force and incredible staying power, characteristics that could be categorized as virtu-

16. *Tribune*, 22 October 1858.
17. *Herald*, 22 October 1858.
18. *Tribune*, 22 October 1858.
19. Williams, *Keywords*, 276–80.
20. Williams, *Keywords*, 57–60.
21. On the extent to which prize fighting was identified as a foreign rather than American pastime, see Wilmer, *Our Press Gang*, 170, who refers to Heenan and Morrissey as "exotic weeds" not native to these shores.

ally animalistic, the *Clipper* paid tribute to Morrissey's "knowledge of the science of offence and defence," without which he would not have prevailed. The *Tribune* and *Herald* stories, on the other hand, argued that science played no part in the Morrissey-Heenan fight or any other prize fight, and that references to the science of pugilism were nothing more than a scam.

Queen, however, doggedly emphasized fighting's role as an improving recreation, focusing on the scientific aspect of the sport because it was such knowledge that raised pugilism above rough-and-tumble street fights and even above the upper-class practice of duelling with pistols.[22] In its coverage of a fight in Albany, New York, in 1853 between two relatively unknown boxers, Ed Webb and Hugh McGuire, the *Clipper* noted that "Webb led off in true scientific style, as did also McGuire, but with less ease, and showing to connoisseurs that his practical knowledge of self defense, must have been acquired in barroom or street fights."[23] Webb won the fight in just ten minutes eighteen seconds, in what the paper characterized as a "rough and tumble" encounter that did nothing to further the science of the sport.

In belittling meetings such as the Webb-McGuire fight, praising bouts such as the Morrissey-Heenan fight, and lauding pugilism's ability to improve nature, Queen echoed the views of Pierce Egan, the Irish-born writer who popularized the ring in Regency England. In *The Fancy*, written between 1821 and 1826, Egan philosophized on man's fallen nature: "Man from the imperfections of his nature, is liable to quarrel, and to give or receive insults in his journey through life—how necessary, then, does it appear that he should be able to defend himself—and that in a way which will bear reflection."[24] Man must defend himself in a way that lifts him above the brutes; and, Egan argued, such a method of defense is possible only through the application of science. Egan cited English champion Jack Broughton as the Man "by whose superior skill and ability Pugilism obtained the rank of a Science":

> Previous to the days of Broughton it was downright slaughtering,—or, in the modern acceptation, either gluttony, strength, or bottom, (that) decided almost every contest. But, after Broughton appeared as a

22. On rough-and-tumble fighting, see Gorn, "'Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch': The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Backcountry" *American Historical Review* 90 (February 1985): 18–43. Gorn demonstrates that the first stages of the transition in the United States of rough-and-tumble fighting to a more regulated form of prize fighting began with Southern aristocrats, although Morrissey and Heenan fought under the Rules of the London Prize Ring. Nevertheless, with a staunch abolitionist such as Greeley, a connection between pugilism and Southern aristocrats would have been further reason for demeaning the sport.

23. *Clipper*, 24 December 1853.

24. Pierce Egan, *Selections from The Fancy*, (Barre, Mass.: Imprint Society, 1972), 11.

> professor of the gymnastic art, he drew crowds about him to witness the exhibitions; there was a neatness about his method completely new and unknown to his auditors . . . and those persons who had the temerity to enter the lists with him were soon convinced of his superior knowledge and athletic prowess.[25]

The key word in that passage would be *method*, because it is the method or system of knowledge that fighting men thought distinguished pugilism from rough-and-tumble fighting. An anonymous work titled *The Art and Practice of English Boxing; or, Scientific Mode of Defence*, which was undated but by its references must have been published in the late eighteenth century, notes of earlier fighters that "their *practice* was indeed great, but *theory* was a word with which they were completely unacquainted."[26] The implication is that courage and strength may achieve positive results, but it is the "theory" of the sport that raises it to the level of science. Moreover, the passage referred to Broughton as "a professor of the gymnastic art," suggesting that the discipline must have qualified theoreticians who pass on the knowledge to those aspiring to enter the field.[27]

Writing in the *Clipper*, Queen took these same ideas and expounded upon them, extending them to the point that scientific pugilism became a matter of education that benefited all of American society. "The practice of self-defence," he argued, is a "necessary branch of education"; its "science should be studied and bear its adequate fruits." Interestingly and in terms of confrontations between classes, between the socially powerful and the disempowered, Queen maintained that one of the chief benefits of studying pugilism was a form of social justice that could be administered on the streets and in every venue of public life in the city: "One vital principle involved in the practice and encouragement of Pugilism. . . is the principle of self-confidence and readiness to take the part of the ill-used, which we have ever found inherent in men who have been tutored in the scientific use of their hands."[28]

This is typical of Queen's editorial arguments that manly sports

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25. Egan, *Selections from The Fancy*, 13.
26. Cited in *The Art and Practice of English Boxing; or, Scientific Mode of Defence*, (London: Dean and Munday, n.d.), iv (italics in the original).
27. In *The Art and Practice of English Boxing*, the terms *art* and *science* seem to be used interchangeably, which is premodern usage. This seems to be the case in much of Pierce Egan's writing, also. Williams writes of the interchangeability of *art* and *science*, indicating that it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the words came to be distinguished from each other. See *Keywords*, 277. As used in the antebellum period and applied to pugilism by Queen in the *Clipper*, *art* often seems to refer to the physical performance, while *science* refers to possessing the knowledge requisite for being a pugilist.
28. *Clipper*, 25 February 1860.
29. Gorn, *Manly Art*, 101.

improved American society.[29] This line of reasoning is also consistent with the religious notion of original sin, of man's fall from innocence in the Garden of Eden to a depraved state of nature from which he must save himself with the help of God's grace. But, significantly, this belief in the fallen state of man runs counter to the optimism of most American religious reformers of the period, who believed in and worked for the perfectibility of man in this life.[30] Religious and social reformers may well have been eager to take the side of society's "ill-used," but not in the immediately physical manner which Queen suggests is necessary. In adopting this position, Queen was careful to credit his mentor in journalistic prize fighting, Pierce Egan. Queen was, after all, devoted to promoting the sport in America and to attaining for it the same social allegiance it earned in Regency England where its values were lauded as "egalitarian and humanitarian" and where aristocrats and working-class men alike studied pugilism. Lord Byron was said to have studied fighting with "Gentleman" John Jackson, the champion of 1790s England; and Charles Dickens admired the science of the prize ring, and used knowledge of it extensively in *Pickwick Papers*.[31]

While prize fighting, defined as competing for a purse in the ring, had no such prestigious literary defenders in America, one form of pugilism, sparring, won the praise of Oliver Wendell Holmes. Writing in his "Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table" series in the May 1858 number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Holmes, a medical doctor and a man of science, stressed Americans' need for exercise, citing in particular the importance of being able to defend oneself. Holmes mentions attending a "gentlemen's sparring exhibition" in which "a delicate young man . . . with an intellectual countenance, a slight figure, a subpallid complexion" squares off against "a big one with broad shoulders" who "will certainly knock the little man's head off."[32] Instead, the little man, "shifty,

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30. Much has been written on this point. See, for example, R. W. B. Lewis, *The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy, and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955); F. O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941); Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967); and for a particularly good study of the idea of play as an escape from the demands of daily life see Philip Young, "Fallen from Time: The Mythic Rip Van Winkle," *Kenyon Review* 22 (Autumn 1960): 551. More recently, literary historians have examined the darker side of American letters during this period. See David S. Reynolds, *Beneath the American Renaissance: The Subversive Imagination in the Age of Emerson and Melville* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989).

31. See James Marlow, "Popular Culture, Pugilism, and Pickwick," *Journal of Popular Culture* 15 (Spring 1982): 16–30. Also see George C. Gross, "Lord Byron and the Fancy," *Arete: The Journal of Sport Literature* (now *Aethlon*) 2 (Spring 1985): 143–67.

32. Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table," *Atlantic Monthly* 1 (May 1858): 881.

nimble, cool," pummels the bigger fellow, a victory for scientific pugilism. Like the *Clipper* poem, Holmes's piece strikes the time-honored David and Goliath theme. However, there is a major difference between Holmes's version and the *Clipper*'s. Holmes makes it clear that he is describing "gentlemen" at a sparring exhibition in a gymnasium. The *Clipper*'s version, as I will later demonstrate in detail, involves a fight between a working-class man and an upper-class man in a saloon.[33]

The more gentlemanly version of pugilism known as sparring attracted many middle-class and upper-class residents of American cities. A knowledge of the science of pugilism was considered beneficial because it provided a gentleman with a means of improving his health and, significantly, of defending himself against a lower-class rowdy whom he might encounter on a city street. Englishman William Fuller, who came to New York in 1824, became the pre-eminent professor of pugilism in the United States because he refused any connection with the commercialization of prize fighting and because he conducted himself in a gentlemanly manner. Moreover, Fuller maintained that a scientific knowledge of pugilistic technique enabled a gentleman to "chastise the 'insolent,' repel the assaults of 'ruffians,' and defend himself from 'blackguards.'"[34] The streets of the antebellum city, where men and women of different classes walked and came face to face daily, were becoming battlegrounds for members of polite society who sought to arm themselves against rudeness.[35]

In arming themselves against rudeness on the street, polite society attempted to appropriate and transform what in America, at least, was an integral part of working-class and even criminal-class culture—defending oneself only with fists. Interestingly, the cultural transformation was successful during Fuller's time, but when, in the late-1840s and the 1850s, prize fights occurred more frequently, were publicized more extensively, and were identified with the immigrant Irish, saloonkeepers, and gamblers, the attempt at transformation was abandoned. Spar-

33. In the same work, Holmes expresses admiration for "the Benicia Boy," Heenan, whose training exhibition he attended and where he confessed to succumbing to the "contagion of muscular electricity" in the hall.

34. Quoted in Gorn, *Manly Art*, 54.

35. John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990), 115. On the city streets as a cultural battleground, see also, Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830–1870* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982), especially chapter 2, "Hypocrisy and Sincerity in the World of Strangers"; Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), especially "The Republic of the Bowery"; Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992), especially the chapter on "Sporting Men," 92–116; and Steven A. Riess, *City Games: The Evolution of American Society and the Rise of Sports* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), especially chapter 1, "The Walking City."

ring continued during this period, but not all sparring professors shared Fuller's social reputation. Newspapers argued that fighting spawned nothing but more fighting. Striking the image of the hunter and the prey in urban life, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Magazine* wrote that even if pugilism "had the merit of making man depend upon his skill and muscle in personal emergencies, its natural tendency is to embolden the bully and the athlete, since they have such advantages over the peaceable and the weak."[36] Clearly, the writer disputed the notion that a knowledge of scientific pugilism would negate the disadvantage of society's "peaceable and weak," likening it, instead, to a type of physical arms race that would lead to unbridled violence on the streets.

Against such attacks, Queen labored continuously, almost always basing his argument on English precedents and Egan, who, in a curious bit of nationalistic and racist reasoning, wrote, "The most savage people dance," while civilized people fight.[37] In the minds of Egan, Queen, and proponents of pugilism in general, fighting and civilization were consistent because the rules of the ring imposed order on what normally would have been a chaotic situation and because a scientific theory of offense and defense removed the element of success in a fight from the sheerly visceral and physical level, from what an anonymous balladeer in 1832 referred to as "the untutored rage."[38] In fact, in *Pierce Egan's Book of Sports*, the author pays tribute to Jack Fogo, the self-proclaimed "poet laureate to the P.R." (prize ring) who "published a small volume of *chants* recording the deeds of the Prize Millers" (fighters).[39] A typical specimen of a Fogo chant lauds scientific pugilism's civilizing tendency:

> Who cries the Ring uncivilizes youth,
> Outraging common sense and common truth!
> When science wakes the peasant's dormant wit,
> His hands with elegance protect or hit;
> Soon he discards the rustic's sluggish mien,
> With grace and gallantry to tread the green.
> Full oft the conquer'd kicks and clubs assail,
> Where wood, and heath, and ignorance prevail.[40]

Like Egan's prose, Fogo's verse touts the improving nature of scientific fighting, but it does so with a rhetoric that smacks of *noblesse oblige*, of the "rustic's" achieving "grace and gallantry" only when he has acquired the knowledge "to tread the green" properly. Much of the writing in Queen's *Clipper* is all but plagia-

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36. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated*, 30 October 1858, 344.
37. *Pierce Egan's Book of Sports* (London: T. T. and J. Tegg, 1832), 170.
38. Quoted in Egan, *Pierce Egan's Book of Sports*, 188.
39. Egan, *Pierce Egan's Book of Sports*, 75 (italics in the original). For more on Fogo and his contributions to *Bell's Life in London*, see John Ford, *Prizefighting: The Age of Regency Boximania* (Devon, U.K.: David and Charles, 1971), 176–77.
40. Egan, *Pierce Egan's Book of Sports*, 75.

rized from Egan, just as many of the chants or ballads composed following a particularly exciting fight owe a heavy debt to their English precursors. In this respect, Queen's argument for the value of prize fighting is neither original nor surprising.

However, not all of the *Clipper*'s coverage was derivative. On occasion, Queen's journal could cast a distinctively American light or shadow on some element of the prize ring. Fogo's chant, quoted above, speaks in general of pugilism's ability to civilize a peasant so that in at least one aspect of his life he is able to "discard [his] rustic's sluggish mien." When Queen, or an anonymous contributor to the *Clipper*, composed a similar ballad following the Morrissey-Heenan fight, the social context in which the action of the ballad took place was both Americanized and urbanized in a way that would make sense to virtually any *Clipper* reader. In "Science Versus Size," knowledge of the techniques of fighting does not waken a "peasant's dormant wit," but serves instead to allow a young man of the city streets to protect himself against unwanted aggression. However, in this instance the young man who protects himself is not an upper-class individual forced to confront rude behavior from a working-class rowdy, but precisely the opposite. In the ballad, a working-class man defends himself against a physically larger and drunken upper-class man. "Science Versus Size" offers what Bakhtin refers to as a cultural "turnabout," a subversive element of parody that commonly occurs in a medieval carnival setting during which there is "a temporary suspension . . . of hierarchical rank" within a society.[41] In fact, the ballad serves up a double turnabout in the sense that the typical rhetoric of the upper-class endorsement of scientific pugilism's being necessary for protection against untoward advances on the street is transformed to serve the working class, and a turnabout in social and physical power occurs within the narrative of the poem.

Moreover, it is important to note that the form of the *Clipper*'s message is what Egan referred to as a chant, which means that it was a product of a primarily oral culture and was meant to be sung or performed in a setting similar to a saloon.[42]

"Science Versus Size. A Sad Story in Rhyme, Dedicated to Heavy Weights Generally, by a Resuscitated Contributor" ran, complete with five illustrations, on the front page of the *Clipper* edition that appeared a week following the edition in which full coverage of the Morrissey-Heenan bout appeared.[43] The ballad,

41. Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 11.
42. In *Manly Art*, Gorn notes that "prize fighting news proliferated in an oral culture, partly because of the ring's outlaw status but also because working-class life centered on the spoken word. It was in the personalistic world of the saloon, where the merits of the boxers were discussed, their exploits sung, and their chances in upcoming battles assessed, that heroes of the ring acquired legendary status." See *Manly Art*, 98, and chapter 3, "The Age of Heroes."
43. "Science versus Size," *Clipper*, 6 November 1858.

told from a first-person point of view, begins by establishing the teller's credentials as a large, powerful man.

I'm a pretty big fellow, I'd have you know,
That is, I am a heavy as common folks go,
And in no way ashamed of my muscular show—
Of my biceps, my thews and my sinews;
I stand six feet two in my socks, and I weigh
Two hundred and twenty-one pounds, any day.

It goes on to reveal his disdain for what he feels is the cowardice of prize fighters: "For I had an idea that they rarely would fight,\ Save when twenty of them find some poor wight,\ When all the policemen are out of sight." But the narrator, with more than a trace of braggadocio, proclaims that he is not afraid to wander alone into saloons at night:

Well, being so healthy, so strong, and so stout,
I am never afraid when I travel about
On a spree, to cut up, to laugh, to frolic, and shout,
In spite of the shoulder-hitters.

These lines also establish, as do later passages as well as the illustrations in which he is pictured dressed in a top hat and wearing what appears to be a pocket watch, a class orientation in the sense that the narrator, a middle-class, or more likely, an upper-class individual, links prize fighting, the "shoulder-hitters," with social disorder and violence in the city. In fact, just four years prior to his bout with Heenan, Morrissey professed his innocence while public officials and the mainstream press in New York City tried to implicate him in the murder of Butcher Bill Poole, references to which appear in the *Tribune*'s coverage of the fight.[44]

Verses 3 and 4 establish the fact that the narrator is drunk: "Now once on a time, I went on a spree,\ And got just as jolly as mortals may be." And, significantly, these verses set the scene for the action, which is a city saloon, "I happened to go in a barroom down stairs,\ To have one more snifter to drown my cares." Unlike the Fogo chant extolling the virtues of scientific pugilism in which a rural youth is civilized by his experience in the formal ring, the *Clipper*'s verse establishes a social setting that would be a part of many of its readers' daily lives.

The body of the ballad reveals that the larger narrator, becoming more of a bully with each brandy, picks a fight with "A puny young fellow, quite scrawny, and lean,\ With the thinnest calves that ever were seen." Beyond that, he feels that the thin young man is "a-putting on airs," attempting to rise above his station in life. The young man was, the narrator says:

In fact, a mere boy, hardly more than nineteen,

44. For a discussion of the Poole murder and prize fighting's being linked with urban violence, see Gorn, "'Good-Bye Boys, I Die a True American': Homicide, Nativism, and Working-Class Culture in Antebellum New York City," *Journal of American History* 74 (September 1987): 388–410.

> But with such a stuck-up, supercilious mien,
> That it made me mad as damnation!

He goes on to call the man a "young jack-a-dandy," a reference to a type of man in the antebellum city who was a fashion-conscious social climber. In his cultural history of manners in nineteenth-century urban America, John F. Kasson notes that

> in his mid-nineteenth century incarnation, the dandy affected tight trousers, an exaggeratedly stylish overcoat "with monstrous buttons and wide sleeves," gigantic tie and shirt collar, glossy hat, bright green gloves, a light walking stick, and an eyeglass to inspect any curiosity along the way. Etiquette advisers scorned such elaborate finery as a badge of effeminacy.[45]

Clearly, the audience such etiquette advisers would be addressing would be the class of gentlemen, or would-be gentlemen, warning them against such affectations that would mark them as lower-class social climbers. The thin young man in the saloon, in fact, is pictured carrying a walking stick and wearing tight trousers, a "badge of effeminacy" that would lead the larger gentleman to figure that he has an easy target for a fight. This contrast, plus the contrast in the sizes of the antagonists, is a precursor of the "bully kicking sand in the face of the ninety-seven pound weakling" ads that the Charles Atlas Company popularized in the twentieth century. In those ads, bodies were on display on the beach, and the ninety-seven pound weakling was the object of scorn, some of it self-directed. To obliterate that scorn, he sends for his Charles Atlas dynamic-tension muscle-building kit; and, in the final strip, he uses his newly built muscles to defeat the bully.[46] In the *Clipper* chant, it is not muscle but science that will defeat the bully. But just as the beach was the physical setting where bodies were on display in the twentieth century, the saloon, the theater, and the street were where the body was dis-

45. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility*, 118.
46. For a discussion of Charles Atlas and the impulse to equate muscle with social power in America, see Harvey Green, *Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport and American Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).
47. See Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility*, chapter 4, "Venturing Forth: Bodily Management in Public." For a discussion of the saloon, theater, and street as working-class cultural institutions in the antebellum period, see Richard B. Stott, *Workers in the Metropolis: Class, Ethnicity, and Youth in Antebellum New York City* (Ithaca. N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990), 217–40.
48. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility*, 121–23.
49. Around 1858 George Windship was establishing a name as a strongman. Windship built himself physically after allegedly being humiliated by a bully at Harvard in 1853. Windship advocated weight lifting, but physical educator Dio Lewis indicated in an article that John Heenan's type of strength was preferable. On the other hand, *Harper's Weekly* in an 1860 article praised Windship's regimen of muscle building as being morally superior to Heenan's prize fighting. For an excellent discussion of Windship and early days of weight training in America, see Green, *Fit for America*, 199–203.

played in the antebellum period.[47] Moreover, the ideal appearance for both the gentleman and the lady of the period was one of "impeccable inexpressivity," a style that contrasted sharply with the swaggering walk and look of the tough Bowery B'hoy and the Broadway swell or dandy.[48] The setting of the ballad is also consistent with mid-nineteenth century attempts to link masculinity, social and professional productivity, and muscularity.[49] However, the key difference that "Science Versus Size" goes on to establish is that knowledge of scientific fighting principles far outstrip sheer strength.

As the fight begins, the first-person narrator is convinced that he will emerge an easy victor while at the same time teach the upstart a social lesson.

> I drew myself up to my six feet two,
> Resolved to show him what muscle would do,
> And to give him a thorough putting through,
> As Sullivan got from Tom Hyer;
> But all at once, his muscle he bared,
> With one toe forward, and elbows squared,
> He bade me "come on and be licked" if I dared.

The reference to the "putting through" that Yankee Sullivan got from Tom Hyer when they fought in 1849 is also telling. In that fight Sullivan, an Irish immigrant saloonkeeper who weighed no more than 150 pounds, lost to Hyer, a native-born American Protestant and a physically larger man who was the favorite of the American middle class and native-born working class.[50] In the situation described in the poem, the larger gentleman assumes vicariously the role of Hyer.

Faced with a challenge, the thin young man immediately adopts the stance of a pugilist; and, consistent with Queen's ideas that he cited in his column on pugilism as a form of social justice, he exudes the "self-confidence and readiness to take the part of the ill-used." In this case, of course, the young man himself is the "ill-used," which refutes the narrator's earlier stated belief in the cowardice of pugilists who fight only when they have the opposition outnumbered.

When the fight begins, science prevails handily and quickly over size:

> It was "one, two, three!" as quick as a sneeze;
> He blacked both my eyes with the greatest ease,
> And polished me off as neat as you please,
> In about three-fourths of a minute;
> I thought I was up to a dodge or so,
> But vulgarly speaking, my fight was "no go."
> 'Gainst Science, Size hadn't a ghost of a show,
> And he started my claret at every blow.

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50. For an account of the ethnic animosity surrounding the Hyer-Sullivan fight, see Gorn, *Manly Art*, 85–96.

As if the d- - - l was in it!

Next morn I awoke, all feeble and sore,
With my eyes shut tight and my face quite raw.
And then and there I solemnly swore
That no kind of aggravation
Should ever tempt me to meddle, again,
With regular Scienced sporting men,
If my Size should be multiplied by ten,
And I'll stick to the oath forever, amen!
To the end of all creation!

With those verses, the thin young man's, and Queen's, point is made—fighting knowledge is superior to size. It was made in the ring when Morrissey, who was outweighed by thirty pounds, met Heenan; and at least in the context of the ballad, it was made in a city saloon. The narrator, in fact, finishes with a "Moral" that reverses his stance from the beginning of the action. His beating, administered by the young man with "a certain elegant grace," has taught the narrator-bully his place in society, precisely the lesson he set out to teach the young upstart.

Now, great hulking fellows, take warning by me,
And if you should get on a bit of a spree,
Keep a civil tongue in your head, d'ya see.

This role reversal, or turnabout, which is precisely a matter of removing the hero's mantle from the shoulders of the upper-class narrator and locating it on the shoulders of the aggrieved thin young man, is completed in the concluding lines. The larger gentleman began the chant in a position of social dominance, but scientific pugilism suspended and reversed the hierarchical social rank. The reversal that Bakhtin refers to that occurs during carnival is temporary. The *Clipper*, though, achieves that same reversal of hierarchical rank on a more permanent basis, or certainly on what Queen hoped would be a more permanent basis.

The ballad is dramatic and didactic. It demonstrates yet again and in humorous fashion to *Clipper* readers the physical, intellectual, and even moral superiority of scientific fighting as opposed to other forms of settling disputes, which, in the working-class world of city streets, were virtually inevitable. The ballad functions on another level, too, as it serves as a lesson to moralists and newspaper editors who scoff at fighting's "show of science," as Greeley and the *Tribune* did. Queen uses *science* in a particular social context that, as Raymond Williams points out, is foreign and resistant to its use by the dominant group in society. "Science Versus Size" must have been read, and performed, with relish in the saloons of the Five Points section of New York, because it reveals that there was an applied science that was meaningful in the everyday lives of the American urban working class, even if, or, more correctly, especially if that science is demonstrated in saloon fights. If in the antebellum period, members

of the working class were feeling "ill-used," as Queen puts it, then they could use the scientific education of pugilism as a means of righting their place in society. If a newspaper that strove to represent the cultural values of the working class felt equally "ill-used," it could resort to the humor of "Science Versus Size" to demonstrate the rightness of its position.

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BOOK REVIEWS

GLASNOST, PERESTROIKA AND THE SOVIET MEDIA.
By Brian McNair.
- Routledge
- 1991, 224 pp.
- $49.95, Cloth

THE YEAR 1991 ended with the demise of the Soviet Union and the birth of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), composed of eleven of the twelve former Soviet republics. As the Soviet Union was disbanded, Mikhail Gorbachev resigned as general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party and Boris Yeltsin rose to power as the president of Russia.

Amidst the tumultous changes sweeping the Soviet Union, the news media underwent concomitant metamorphosis both structurally and ideologically. In this vein, *Glasnost, Perestroika and the Soviet Media* is considerably outdated now. The research for publication of the book in 1991 was completed at the end of 1989.

As author Brian McNair aptly notes, "keeping up with the changes has not been easy. As all who work in this field are aware, the Soviet Union currently represents, from the academic point of view, a 'moving target.'" Nevertheless, the book offers a contextual analysis of how Gorbachev's glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) have affected the Soviet media from 1985 to 1989.

The book's first part focuses on the Soviet media as the "ideological apparatus of the state." Five chapters are devoted to an in-depth, comprehensive discussion of Soviet journalism. They deal with the theoretical basis of the Soviet press as formulated by Marx and Lenin and the impact of Stalinism upon the development of the Soviet media up to Brezhnev.

Chapters 4 and 5 examine the effects of the Gorbachev reforms on the Soviet news media. Chapter 6 summarizes various structural measures adopted by the Soviet government and journalists to consolidate the press-related changes. Particularly, a concise discussion of the 1990 "Law on the Press" is included. The press law, which was adopted by the Supreme Soviet in 1989 and went into force in 1990, aimed to protect the freedom of the Soviet press in a more concrete way.

The five chapters of part 2 analyze the "key features of the contemporary Soviet media," including international reporting on the U.S. and Soviet summits in Reykjavik and Moscow, and women in the Soviet media.

Although the primary objective of the book is to discuss Soviet journalism from the perspective of Gorbachev's reform policies, the theme of the book is based on the author's view that "*all* news is ideological."

McNair, who has lived and studied in the Soviet Union, convincingly argues for rejection of the commonplace proposition that news in the Soviet Union is no more than propagandistic while that in Western democracies such asBritain and the United States is "objective." In making a case for his argument, he compares Soviet to British reporting on international events.

McNair asserts that the Gorbachev reforms have led to a Soviet media system that he terms "comparable in its openness, reliability, depth of information, and entertainment quality" to the Western media. But he notes warily the emergence of yellow journalism and "media sexism" in the Soviet press, adding that "all that is *glasnost* is not gold."

McNair, a lecturer in film and media studies at the University of Stirling, concludes that glasnost and perestroika were goverment responses to the internal and external developments threatening the ideological and economic foundation of the Soviet Union.

All in all, the book makes a valuable contribution by filling in blank

spaces in the informed discussion of the Soviet media during the first four years of the Gorbachev regime. It is an important scholarly work in that it contains ample information about the evolution of the Soviet media, from a controlled government press to an increasingly independent press in recent years.

The 224-page book is well documented. Sources are endnoted in each chapter. Bibliographies of works in English and in Russian are provided at the end of the book. English-language translation of the titles of Russian source materials would have been more helpful to readers who do not read Russian. The five-page index is not sufficiently comprehensive in that it is mostly limited to the names of people and institutions. It obviously has left out a number of important subjects discussed in the book.

... Kyu Ho Youm
Arizona State University

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STREET VIOLENCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: MEDIA PANIC OR REAL DANGER?
By Robin Sindall.
- Columbia University Press
- 1990, 208 pp
- $39, Cloth

ROBIN SINDALL HAS studied the impact of press coverage of street violence in Victorian England. Selecting several outbreaks from the 1850s through the 1880s, he claims that the media caused middle-class panics, which in turn affected the police, bench, and legislators. His book thus combines two significant themes of the era, the influence of periodicals and the fascination with crime.

Borrowing a twentieth-century sociological model from Stanley Cohen, Sindall tries to show how nineteenth-century gazettes, and especially the *Times* of London, acted as "moral entrepreneurs." He suggests that they constructed, slowly and carefully in stories, editorials, and letters printed, stereotypes of lawmakers, lawkeepers, and lawbreakers in terms of good and evil. Focusing on the reaction of the middle classes because of their social sway, he postulates that serials exploited readers' fears for their lives, their property, and their world by identifying individual physical attacks as a new form of class confrontation; and that the consequent fright prompted calls for changes in law and procedure.

To substantiate his thesis, Sindall provides "scares" from four decades. Some, like the national ticket-of-leave and London garotting, are well known; others, like the Liverpool "High Rip," less so. For each, he argues that columns not only exaggerated episodes to stimulate terror but reinforced this response—for example, by promoting security equipment. Notwithstanding such behavior, he concludes that the results were mixed. He portrays the constabulary as able to withstand criticism while it controlled criminality. He speculates that some judges, because of ambitions for office, bent to pressure for stronger penalties and that many members of Parliament, not surprisingly, did likewise.

This analysis may be accurate. Certainly its premise, that metropolitan assaults made headlines, is correct, but the evidence offered to sustain a sophisticated long-term journalistic campaign is uneven. For example, although Sindall recognizes that statistics of crime are not reliable because of differences and difficulties in collection, he nevertheless uses them to measure the veracity of the news.

More troublesome is his dependence on a few publications whose policies, prejudices, and personnel are scarcely considered. The very strong reliance on the *Times* seems unjustified when other widely circulated and significantly authored magazines and quarterlies spoke regularly about topics relevant to this work. Paralleling the narrow range of sources is a failure to place the incidents noticed in their milieu, where other opinions account in part for the changes in criminal justice.

The text is also poorly

edited. Words are repeated or misspelled in the narrative; endnotes are incomplete, erroneous, confusing, misleading, or missing altogether. There is no bibliography, and the index is weak.

These flaws raise questions of credibility and make the already formidable task of investigating the Victorian press even more so.

... *E. M. Palmegiano*
Saint Peter's College

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BOILERPLATING AMERICA: THE HIDDEN NEWSPAPER.
By Eugene C. Harter. Edited by Dorothy Harter.
• University Press of America
• 1991, 246 pp.
• $43.75, Cloth; $26, Paper

EUGENE C. HARTER'S *Boilerplating America* takes a look at one of the lesser explored areas of journalism history—that is, the small town newspaper that flourished in the late nineteenth century. Specifically, Harter explores the impact of thousands of weekly newspapers that relied on two now extinct printing techniques: ready print and boilerplate.

Harter, however, seems to assume that his audience (the book is meant as a college text) is already familiar with these techniques, and the reader must delve far into the book to learn exactly what these two terms mean. For the uninitiated, ready print was invented in 1861 by Ansel Kellogg, who began printing news, information, and advertising on one side of newsprint and supplying this to small town printers, who then supplied the local information to form a complete newspaper. Boilerplates simply were preetched printing plates that local printers could purchase for inclusion in their journals.

The author builds an adequate argument for the importance of ready print and boilerplate. Most readers, he asserts, never realized that they were reading packaged material that had been supplied from a central source. The use of these pre-printed news sheets reduced the costs to a local printer and also insured that the editor, often working alone, could publish a newspaper each week. Harter argues that the techniques were so popular that by 1886 a third of American weekly newspapers were using ready-print, while most of the rest were buying boilerplate. Thus, he asserts, that these "hidden" newspapers were wielding incredible power and influence on an unassuming public.

This, however, is where the author's argument falls short. Harter mentions briefly that the ready-print pages of newspapers lobbied heavily in favor of Prohibition, but he never provides evidence to link these articles with the eventual passage of the Eighteenth Amendment. Beyond this example, there is little description in the book of the kinds of issues and articles—which would add up to power and influence—supplied by ready-print and boilerplate publishers. The book's illustrations depict articles usually considered filler—women's fashions, stories for children, "Hints for farmers" and "Boys and their Mothers." Not exactly influential material. In fact, the author argues that when national magazines began attacking the practice of vote selling at the turn of the century, ready-print simply ignored it.

Harter also fails to place the ready-print and boilerplate phenomena in the context of other syndicated and national news material. This is a serious omission. He questions why the New York newspapers and publishers always have been considered influential by journalism historians, arguing that their circulation outside of the city was almost nonexistent. Yet he fails to measure or even mention important national publications such as Horace Greeley's weekly *Tribune*, which certainly helped make that publisher a national figure.

Harter also never questions what role the Associated Press and other fledgling wire services played in providing reading material to the nation. It is this lack of context that makes the book weak.

Most frustrating, how-

ever, certainly for a college text, are the book's severe inconsistencies and numerous editing errors. *It's* is mistaken for *its*; *roles* is mistakenly used for *rolls*, and numerous typographical errors remain. In one section, Harter argues that ready-print newspapers had a circulation of 140,000 in 1871. Later in that same chapter he asserts that as early as the 1870s, ready-print had circulations higher than today's *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *USA Today*. The numbers simply do not add up. How can a college professor assign students to read a book littered with the kind of technical mistakes that news reporting students are crucified for making?

My gut feeling is that Harter probably does have a case for arguing the importance of the ready-print and boilerplate newspapers. In this form, however, he is less than convincing.

...*Agnes Hooper Gottlieb*
Seton Hall University

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BLACK JOURNALISTS IN PARADOX: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES AND CURRENT DILEMMAS.
By Clint C. Wilson II.
• Greenwood
• 1991, 208 pp.
• $39.95, Cloth

CLINT WILSON, Associate Dean of Howard University's School of Communications, has righteously excoriated the white-owned press for its insensitivity to blacks. He points out that it not only hires few blacks for its newsrooms, but that it puts almost insurmountable roadblocks in their way when they seek editorships or managerial positions.

"It is apparent that Black journalists want full membership and participatory status in their profession, not simply the illusion of influence that comes with admittance to a place on the assembly line," he writes. "It's not just a seat at the newsroom lunch counter they seek, but a role in both determining the menu and preparing the meal."

Furthermore, he criticizes the press for socializing the blacks they hire to write or broadcast the news in a manner that sketchily covers, sometimes ignores, and definitely misrepresents the black community. He admits that some blacks are comfortable in "mainstream" newsrooms, but he dismisses them quickly as merely square pegs trying to fit in round holes who have settled for less than their heritage demands.

Wilson's book, whose theme is that being attentive to cultural groups "is not only morally but socially responsible and representative of good business acumen" by the press, is badly flawed because of his anger. The objects of his derision unquestionably deserve criticism. However, it is hoped that an academic, who depends heavily on the research of other scholars to bolster his points, would control his bias more than Wilson does here or at least mask it. Such obvious bias only undermines the validity and believability of his points.

So, given that it looks at an important topic, what is the worth of this book? It has value for undergraduates who need to be introduced to the topic, but acadmics undoubtedly will be disappointed. Wilson basically rehashes the research of others rather than doing something original and up to date. A good example of what can be done is the work of Dave Weaver and Cleve Wilhoit at Indiana University, who have updated our portrait of American journalists. Or, turning to blacks, there is the 1991 dissertation of Ohio University's Ted Pease on the job satisfaction of minority journalists at U.S. daily newspapers. Each of these studies has drawn national attention.

Finally, the author needs to use history better to bolster his thesis. He spends forty-eight pages (over a quarter of the text) relating biographies of thirty-one black journalists who have been successful. The point can be made far more succinctly than that, and more memorably, by not presenting such a list, which has plagued some well-known mass communica-

tion history textbooks. Far more valuable than the listing would be an in-depth discussion of the press's poor, sometimes biased coverage of blacks over the years. For example, the author discusses the Kerner Report's criticism in 1968, but strangely ignores the Hutchins Commission's report of 1947. The latter distinctly talked about the inadequate coverage of groups in society.

The book concludes with some interesting recommendations of how to remedy some of the ills mentioned by the author, but by the time readers reach them, they can only wish that they were arrived at in a more unbiased fashion. Put simply, this book does not equal its promise.

. . . Patrick S. Washburn
Ohio University

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WE FALL AND RISE: RUSSIAN-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS IN NEW YORK 1889–1914.
By Robert A. Karlowich.
• Scarecrow
• 1991, 356 pp.
• $39.95, Cloth

ROBERT KARLOWICH'S book is indeed a welcome publication for scholars in ethnic studies and immigration history and especially the immigrant press. Originally his dissertation, this volume is one of the very few studies of Russian language newspapers that exist in English. His focus on New York City is appropriate, because it is the birthplace of the Russian-language press in America. Failures and successes began here and were to influence the outcome and final direction of the Russian-language press. New York was also the center where the Russian Jews and ethnic Russians who emigrated to the United States formed their communities and published these newspapers. This study "analyzes the Russian-language press in New York City from 1889[to]1914 as one element in the communication network with the community in America of immigrants from Russia, and as a reflection of the community's social, cultural, political and economic environment." Each publication has been documented according to the best sources available. "Russia, the mother country of these economic immigrants, is also considered as part of this environment" (xv).

The introduction to the book offers the reader a concise overview of what to expect in the book's six chapters. Karlowich's footnotes are thorough and contain substantial additional information. The study is divided into two separate parts. The first part deals with the period 1889–99, a time when there was "a clear Russian-Jewish emphasis in the press, and a content that was predominantly revolutionary and socialist in varying degrees" (xv). The second part deals with the period 1907–14, when "revolutionary and socialist content was still evident but other titles with commercial, religious, and less radical views began to appear" (xvi). The closing date, 1914, was chosen because the "start of World War I initiated a change both in publishingand attitudes" (xvi).

In chapter 1, we learn of the diversity and background of Russian Jews and ethnic Russians, their motivations for "leaving home" and managing to "find a home" in America. Russian Jews began coming to America in 1882 in large numbers, settling mainly in New York City. "Economic deprivation, the new pogroms and the anti-semitic attitude and actions of the Russian government" (3) were reason enough to leave. Karlowich traces their culture in Russia; involvement in the revolutionary movement (brought on through their knowledge of the Russian language); early years in New York City (a "time of confusion among the Russian-Jewish intellectuals"); continuation of Russian conflicts (such asanarchists and socialists' disagreements over whether to speak Yiddish or Russian in their activities); Jewish educational circles in Russia; and the growing number of Russian-Jewish radicals in New York City. In 1889, the latter community of activists produced

the first Russian-language newspaper published in New York, *Znamia* (the *Banner*). Non-Jewish Russian immigrants arrived following the failure of the 1905 revolts in Russia and the Russo-Japanese War. Their reasons were similar to those of the first group. This latter group found its home in the Social Democratic party.

Chapter 2 follows these two groups in their struggle to "find a voice" and "stay alive." Several factors are discussed to explain the reasons "for the economic success or failure of foreign-language newspapers in the United States" (37). There are two parts to this chapter, covering first the "types of ownership and goals" and, second, the "finances and circulation." All of these newspapers suffered from a shortage of funds, and their circulation figures were not always accurate as a result. Only three newspapers published their financial reports: *Znamia*, *Novyi mir*, and *Golos truda*.

In chapters 3 and 4, Karlowich outlines the lives and careers of ten editors of the Russian-language newspapers. For the period 1889–99, he calls these newspapers (six titles were published) "generally well written and informative" but "transient." These Russian-language newspapers never took hold. Most of the editors of this period, despite reference to "themselves and their readers as 'we Russians' (*my russkie*)," were more sympathetic to the "Jewish workers and their participation in the social, cultural and political world of the New York Jewish ghetto community" (100). As editors, they promoted their revolutionary goals, faced many challenges, and fought among themselves for control of these newspapers and their readers. Diverse in their careers, some, like Louis Miller (a lawyer) while editor of *Znamia*, "was active in Yiddish journalism and Jewish ghetto politics" (103) and helped to create *Arbeiter Zeitung*. With the predominance of the Yiddish press, "interest in the Russian-language as a publishing medium in New York ended for the moment in 1899" (131). In the period 1907–14, there were ten titles and thirteen editors to run them. With the expanding number of ethnic Russians, emigrating from the Russian empire after 1899, the editors sought this new audience and abandoned the Russian-Jewish population. The new publishing activity was initiated by the emigres who fled the failed 1905 revolution.

Karlowich surveys the careers of these editors "under the newspapers they edited," which he groups by "broad political positions, i.e., socialist (including one anarchist newspaper), progressive-liberal, and tsarist Orthodox" (146). These editors, energetic, talented, and at times controversial (such as Ivan K. Okuntsov), like their predecessors were in constant battle with one another. Old World prejudices, anti-clericalism, anti-semitism, and polemics between the socialists and the Russian Orthodox Church dominated the pages of *Russkoe slovo* and *Russkii emigrant*. Despite the failures in this period, two individual titles, *Russkoe slovo* and *Novyi mir*, "found a sustained readership and thus a more enduring place in the life of the Russian immigrant community" (199).

In chapters 5 and 6, Karlowich analyzes both groups, the Russian Jews and the ethnic Russians, through various organizations and societies that received major coverage in the Russian-language newspapers.

Karlowich has produced a substantial, well researched, and invaluable work. Anyone studying the ethnic press in the United States should not overlook this publication and its wealth of archival and published sources.

... *Halyna Myronivk*
University of Minnesota

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WRITING BASEBALL.
By Jerry Klinkowitz.
• University of Illinois Press
• 1991, 184 pp.
• $28.95, Cloth; $11.95, Paper

JERRY KLINKOWITZ'S premise is that writing about baseball is an event

unto itself. Indeed, he draws a parallel between his premise and Terry Cashman's popular song, "Talkin' Baseball." "Writing baseball" rather than "writing about baseball" is not only the technically correct term but also the one people on thestreet use to describe that act, just as they do for their more immediately linguistic business—that pop song's title, after all, was not "Talking about Baseball," nor did the activity it described come out as anything other than "talkin' baseball."

Making no distinction among history, reportage, or fiction, he has compiled a sampling of fine baseball writings that will draw any insatiable fan around the proverbial hot stove and through a cold winter's evening. They range from the more obvious selections (Max Apple's "Understanding Alvarado") to others not likely to be encountered in the mainstream (Barry Gifford's "The Aerodynamics of an Irishman").

Klinkowitz divides his selections into six sections — "Kids," "Minors," "Scouts," "Players," "Professors," and "Fans"— each of which is relevant to the material included. The first section obviously involves youngsters and baseball, either as fans or budding players. The second describes life in the minor leagues, and the third offers three distinct views on an often-ignored aspect of the game. One of these, although a bit dated, deserves wider distribution. "It was an idea whose time had come, but it took a prolonged strike to achieve it: free agency for world leaders," writes Gerald Rosen in his hilarious piece, "Free Agency for World Leaders." In describing the United States's signing of Mikhail Gorbachev for two-and-a-half million dollars, he writes, "Gorbachev took a has-been team, a perennial second-place finisher, and turned them into a certain contender for top honors. The U.S. is hungry for youth, dynamism, vision, and purpose, and Gorbachev clearly fits the bill. His pretty wife didn't hurt, and besides, to many in the U.S., he seems to be the only person available who understands economics." The United States also signs Imelda and Ferdinand Marcos (for five hundred thousand dollars) to host the Jimmy and Tammy Show on national television. The United States acquired the couple in a bidding war with Italy, "which offered the former dictator $400,000 just to bring his wife to live in their country and buy her shoes there."

The "Players" section includes an excerpt from Alison Gordon's book on covering the Toronto Blue Jays, Bill Cardoso's visit with hair dresser Bernie Carbon, and a selection from Jerome Charyn's dark, brooding novel *The Seventh Babe.* Under "Professors," Eric Solomon recalls the peripheral role of baseball on the life of a graduate student at Johns Hopkins, and Gary Gildner talks about coaching baseball in Poland. In the "Fans" section, the selections are brought to a sobering close as Raymond Mungo describes the death of a drunk spectator at Candlestick Park.

Klinkowitz enjoys dual careers as English professor at the University of Northern Iowa and executive director of the Waterloo affiliate of the San Diego Padres. Obviously, this gives him a perspective that is probably unique, but it is not a convincing argument for the premise of the book. While Klinkowitz's theory holds true to a point—all of the pieces are enjoyable regardless of their origin or intent—it may be chafing to the historian and the reporter and the teacher looking for a sports literature textbook. The audience would probably be better served if *Writing Baseball* had a postscript, identifying the author, the year of publication, and the source of each selection. Still the book does gather some worthwhile selections from literary journalism about baseball, and so may interest the specialized journalism historian.

. . . Bill Plott
Birmingham (Ala.) News

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ASSESSING THE PRESIDENT: THE MEDIA, ELITE OPINION, AND PUBLIC SUPPORT.
By Richard A. Brody.
• Stanford University Press
• 1991, 212 pp.
• $22.50, Cloth

WRITTEN BY A political scientist and best suited for an audience of social scientists, this volume contains many stylistic trappings that informed general readers will find frustrating. Too often the book shuns clear and direct language in favor of words like *operationalized*, and it forces a barrage of jargon on the reader by its liberal use of terms such as *hypothesized shifts, proximal sources, sociotropic publics, valence issues, morselized opinions*, and other such mystifying entities. Even the work of archivists is described as "systematic archiving"—what other kind is there? Such language creates obstructive verbal hurdles for the non-specialist, who might be attracted to the bookfor the general appeal of its title.

The text itself, which concentrates on the presidency from Kennedy through Reagan, abounds with analysis of models and statistical data and is replete with seemingly endless references to what previous authorities have said about the topic. Too often the author begins his discussion on a particular point with an account of previous related models and theories, and continues a discourse with them as the discussion proceeds. Though this may be a sound social science approach to the subject, it drives more general readers to wish that Brody had offered more of his own elaboration, especially to explain the reasons for the public opinion phenomena he detects, and had made less of an effort to conduct comparative analysis with previous studies. The author, however, does state his debt to "earlier models," and it is obvious, as he also mentions, that they stimulated his own research.

Perhaps the strongest quality of the volume lies in its well-delineated intent. "The central claim of the book," we are told, "is that American people form and revise their impressions of the quality of presidential performance on evidence contained in reports of politics and policy outcomes . . . in the news media" (4). The author pursues that purpose by examining varous phenomena characterizing the ebb and flow of public support for a president. In the end he concludes, "It is news of outcomes rather than reported policy announcements or proposals that ordinarily drives the process of opinion formation" (169). Although he offers various analyses to support that important finding, one is left wondering if the effect of presidential manipulation of the public has received the attention it deserves.

The discussion of the Carter and Reagan presidencies was the most interesting part of the book to this reviewer, and the author reaches a number of surprising conclusions about public support for these presidents. After examining the first two years they each held office, for instance, he found no basis for the idea that Reagan was a "teflon president" immune to negative news or that the American people found Carter lacking in political attractiveness (146). Yet one has to wonder if such conclusions, based on a careful quantitative analysis, allow sufficient leeway for subjective differences that personalities and contextual forces might make in defining public support for a president.

In writing this book Brody, a professor of political science and communication at Stanford University, does raise and respond to a number of questions about the presidents, the press, and public opinion. Although historians might find it a limited and tedious treatment of the subject, social scientists will appreciate the analysis it offers about the nature of public attitudes toward presidential performance.

. . . *James D. Startt*
Valparaiso University

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STARDOM: INDUSTRY OF DESIRE.
Edited by Christine Gledhill.
• Routledge
• 1991, 272 pp.
• $69.95, Cloth; $16.95, Paper

STARDOM: INDUSTRY OF Desire is one of a series of recent publications by Routledge that seek to re-interpret various aspects of popular culture in film and television. This volume, edited by Christine Gledhill of the British Film Institute, provides a framework through which the reader can encounter the full gamut of roles that stars have held in many cultures. She includes essays on the stars of the silent film era and those of the music video age (from Greta Garbo to Michael Jackson) to convey a clear sense of the ongoing nature of star worship.

The essays in *Stardom* are arranged in four categories: the system; stars and society; performers and signs; and desire, meaning, and politics. While Gledhill disclaims any one theoretical focus as uniting the twenty-two essays that compose the book, the gestalt suggests a strong bias toward feminist criticism and British cultural studies. This approach is a refreshing change from standard film history texts, which offer mostly chronology. The popular culture focus, however, is also a weakness in that some of the essays focus too heavily on the "gossip column" aspects of star culture, rather than examining the institutional influences of such practices on society.

While *Stardom* concentrates on the Hollywood star system as both the largest and most influential in the world, the editor provides alternative perspectives by including essays on the creation and treatment of stars in India, and the role ethnic minorities play in this cultural phenomenon. Again, however, the inclusion of these essays is both a strength and a weakness of the book. Gledhill should be commended for including the essays, but she offers little editorial comment to tie the essays more clearly into the book's overall themes.

A major strength of *Stardom* is the emphasis on the practices that the film and television industries use to create fantasy images for their "stars" and to perpetuate the star mystique at the expense of the real identity of young actors. The essays come to see both the stars themselves and their fans as common victims of industry policies. The problem with this collection as a whole, however, is that it does not go far enough in consistently exploring the implications of institutionalized stardom for other aspects of culture.

Nevertheless, this book is a valuable contribution to film history and cultural studies in general. It provides a welcome alternative to standard film histories and goes a long way toward debunking the mythic culture that has developed around our screen idols and has been fueled by the numerous biographies and anthologies written by fans. Gledhill should be commended for effectively assembling essays that explore not only the stars and their films as "texts," but also the social and ideological meanings that those stars embody.

. . . Anna Banks
University of Idaho

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PUBLISHING AND CULTURAL POLITICS IN REVOLUTIONARY PARIS, 1789–1810.
By Carla Hesse.
• University of California Press
• 1991, 256 pp.
• $29.95, Cloth

FREEDOM OF THE press in revolutionary France did not benefit everyone, but one would think that it helped the publishers. Not so, according to Carla Hesse in *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1810.* The author shows that, far from helping established publishers, the declaration of press freedom in the summer of 1789 destroyed many of the largest.

The French Revolution, after all, grew from a spirit of revolt against privilege. One of those industries most privileged was the Paris publishing world, Hesse explains. A guild of thirty-six Paris publishers were autho-

rized as crown representatives to sponsor all knowledge made public through the printed word. The guild had the power, in concert with government censors, to pass judgment on all written material before dissemination, including, if they could catch them, clandestine publishers in France as well as in Germany, Holland, and Switzerland.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen in 1789 affirmed the revolutionary ideal that ideas and their circulation should be everyone's right. The king's power to control ideas shifted from court to public through newspapers and pamphlets, and book publishers could no longer hold a monopoly. An avalanche of printed matter engulfed Paris, bypassing old publishers, who often fell into bankruptcy either by loss of sales or pirated editions.

New regulation by 1793 began chipping away at total freedom, notes Hesse. "Far from producing an enlightened republic, the newly freed printing and publishing world, left to its own devices, could barely produce at all." Napolean's coup d'etat was the beginning of the end, slowly draining life out of press freedoms until all that remained was an empty shell under a free-press banner.

The book trade vanquished most periodicals under encouragement from a government that, in 1810, required pre-publication censorship of publications only if under twenty pages. Newspapers and pamphlets, it wasthought, were cheap and quick to produce, and therefore most dangerous to society.

Hesse concludes that, because free French readers had demanded novels and journalistic amusement rather than education, "Far from representing the commercial triumph of Enlightenment culture, the Revolution represented its undoing." She contends that cultural anarchy followed freedom of the press in 1789: "Far from propagating enlightened ideas, the freed presses of Paris poured forth incendiary, and often seditious, political pamphlets." Succeeding French governments sought to reign in the demand for novels and diversion, and channel it toward "useful knowledge," culminating in Napoleonic re-regulation.

Press historians, who are usually more familiar with periodicals than with book publishing during this period, might be surprised to read that enlightened ideas seldom emerged from revolutionary journalists, or that their readers were not absorbing useful knowledge. After all, today we have a name for this material: popular culture. And while perhaps the journalism of that period did not always reach the highest literary standards, "incendiary and often seditious pamphlets" drove not only the French Revolution, but the American one. Sedition is in the eye of the beholder.

Sometimes annoying is the author's assumption that readers bring a fair knowledge of French terminology and revolutionary events to the text. Nevertheless, the book fills a need for historians to know not only of revolutionary periodicals, but of book publishing and its influence on cultural politics in France during one of the most important periods of modern history.

. . . Ross F. Collins
Grand Forks, North Dakota

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THE SMART MAGAZINES: FIFTY YEARS OF LITERARY REVELRY AND HIGH JINKS AT *VANITY FAIR, THE NEW YORKER, ESQUIRE,* AND *THE SMART SET.*
By George H. Douglas.
• Archon
• 1991, 248 pp.
• $27.50, Cloth

THIS SLIM BUT important book contains two sections, the first to set the scene for the appearance of the sophisticated slicks (named in the title above) that were responsible for introducing to American letters some of our most influential writers. Section 1's three chapters—titled "Fin de Siecle—An Opening for New Talents," "Of Society Magazines and Urban Weeklies," and

"From the Humorous Vein"—serve readers well; those unfamiliar with "smart" magazines will come to respect their impact on the industry in the first four decades of this century as much as the author, George Douglas, whose wit peppers these pages.

As early as the introduction, we are cued into his aesthetic. For instance, he writes that these magazines differ from their current-day counterparts, which "are a great tribute to modern print technology." But he backs up that statement in the first three chapters by identifying the niche that these magazines would carve between the commercial *Saturday Evening Post* and *Ladies' Home Journal* and the elitist *Harper's Monthly* and *Atlantic*.

Douglas also chronicles the parents of the smart magazines: high-fashion publications like *Vogue* and humor ones like *Judge*. Again he pleases readers with detailed descriptions of each magazine mentioned in the early chapters. The result is a witty prose grounded in fact, which happens to be one of the legacies of "smart" magazines.

Each of the remaining chapters is, in essence, a biography of the select publications. Douglas presents historical information in each chapter and yet manages to capture the milieu of writers, editors, and individual newsrooms. For instance, in reading about *Smart Set*, we learn that the magazine did not much like to pay writers, even famous ones, more than the standard one cent per word for prose or quarter per line for poetry. When a poet complained, editor Arthur Grisson responded: "Poets are born not paid."

In this particular chapter, famous staffers George Jean Nathan and H. L. Mencken are highlighted and their editorial contributions thoroughly explained, again with wit and elan. Douglas mentions, for instance, how the duo would invent aliases allowing them to write more copy for the magazine, some of it trenchant criticism about American life and culture.

Douglas makes good transitions from chapter to chapter. He describes why Mencken and Nathan ultimately left their positions when they could not purchase the publication or change its design; then, in the next chapter, he depicts *Vanity Fair*, which was as sophisticated but more slickly produced than *Smart Set*.

He also uses photographs as proof, often with informative cutlines. For example, he adds this cutline below the November 1921 cover featuring a panel of nude dancers: "*Vanity Fair*'s mixture of popular art and the avant garde eased America out of Victorianism and into the twentieth century." Therein is a capsule that enhances content.

From here we head on to the *New Yorker*, the publication that helped put an end to *Vanity Fair* (with help from the Depression). Douglas is not about to let the official history of that magazine undermine his personal comment. For instance, in focusing on the famous statement by guiding spirit Harold Ross—"The *New Yorker* will be the magazine that is not edited for the little old lady in Dubuque"—Douglas writes: "The *New Yorker* was produced for the little old lady in Dubuque, or at least for her upwardly mobile and city-bound daughter."

Throughout, Douglas gives us little-known fact in the spirit of *New Yorker* prose to highlight his observations. For instance, he relates that Ross, a member of the famed Round Table at the Algonquin Hotel, promised a share of stock to anyone who could help him create a fitting name for his vision of a magazine. One lowly member of the table, a publicity man, was told that this was "a metropolitan magazine," to which the man is said to have replied: "Then call it the *New Yorker*."

Finally, Douglas ends with *Esquire*—"*Fortune*'s playful younger brother"—and notes the discovery of the magazine's most important writer, Ernest Hemingway. He quotes a passage of prose from the December 1935 issue in which Hemingway reflects upon boxer Joe Louis demolishing Max

Baer. The passage is too long to quote, but begins with this journalistic/minimalist-inspiring lead: "Louis is too good to be true and is absolutely true."

In some sense, that quote applies to this book, a "knock-out" read that ends with a touch of irony. Douglas notes that Hugh M. Hefner—once a promotional writer for *Esquire*—would go on to invent a magazine whose playmate, unlike the *Esquire* girl, was not a creation of wit but "an object of masturbation." As he puts it, "High society had passed *Playboy* by, just as it had passed most new magazines by in the standardized America that has grown up since World War II."

. . . Michael J. Bugeja
Ohio University

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PRESS FREEDOM IN AFRICA.
By Gunilla L. Faringer.
• Praeger
• 1991, 144 pp.
• $37.95, Cloth

THIS LITTLE BOOK appears at first glance to be merely an updating and repackaging of today's conventional wisdom concerning the relationship between government and the media of mass communication in three representative countries of black Africa—Nigeria, Ghana, and Kenya. It turns out, however, to be much more than that.

In her meager allotment of 144 pages, the author—a news correspondent and political columnist in the United States for Scandinavian newspapers—manages not just to review what others have learned about the media of these three countries, but to explore some interesting implications of that knowledge and challenge certain aspects of today's conventional wisdom.

One of her most perceptive challenges is to journalism's hoary assumption that the "four theories" of Peterson, Schramm, and Siebert really explain much of importance concerning today's new world order or disorder in mass communication. For too long, professors of journalism and their students have felt obliged to tote the four theories from spot to spot over the entire globe. Since it is an artifact of the Cold War of the 1950s, however, the four theories approach is of little help.

Explaining its limitations as a mode of analysis in black Africa, the author points out that Ghana, Nigeria, and Kenya are in a completely different phase of development and have entirely different historical experience than the Western capitalistic economies for which the four-theories typology was developed.

"One should always keep in mind," she points out in another part of her book, that "while press freedom in Western Europe and the United States is regarded as a civil liberty, in Africa the development of a national press was based not on the concept of individual freedom and rights, but on the nation's right to independence and national sovereignty."

In search of a more relevant mode of analysis, the author applies William Hachten's five-part typology, which provides the helpful concept of the "developmental" function of media. She does *not*, however, explore the application of Robert Picard's typology or that developed by William Ruhl to analyze press systems in North Africa.

In other exploration of press theory, the author challenges the assumption of most U.S. and European journalists that the concepts of "development" or "developmental" journalism and that of "free press" are mutually exclusive. It is crucial, however, she points out, to find a "formula" suitable for the needs of the "Third World." (Why do she and others continue to use that obsolete term? One wonders.) She describes that formula as a broadly based mass media that can fulfill the need to promote development while at the same time serve as a "critical, independent press."

Implicit in her treatment of the problem is a rejection of the capitalist premise that a private-enterprise commercial press is independent solely because it is "free" from

regulation by government.

In exploring the evolution of today's problems of press freedom in black Africa, the author covers tracks left by a large number of journalists or scholars active in that field — Barton, Ainslie, Kitchen, Righter, Lamb, Lerner, Scotton, Sommerlad, and Wilcox, in addition to Hachten.

Despite its brevity, the book provides a quite comprehensive review of knowledge in its area— with generally well-reasoned efforts at interpretation. Overall, it gives the reader a sharp focus on today's state of affairs in black Africa's media. The questions most relevant to black African masscomm are presented clearly. And the reader is given a stimulating peek at the future's possibilities.

. . . John Edward DeMott
Memphis State University

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NEWS VERDICTS, THE DEBATES, AND PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS.
By James B. Lemert, William R. Elliott, James M. Bernstein, William L. Rosenberg, and Karl J. Nestvold.
• Praeger
• 1991, 312 pp.
• $49.95, Cloth

THESE FIVE SCHOLARS summarize and analyze all past work on debate and campaign news coverage since 1976 and add their own new work for 1988. The result not only is the largest in-depth study ever done on presidential/vice-presidential debates and news verdict coverage but also an immensely valuable guide for those concerned with the 1992 and future presidential election campaigns. Here is an example in the best sense of "history informing the future."

Combining traditional content research with a time series design to more accurately measure the day-by-day public impact of post-debate news coverage, they have come up with some startling findings from the nine debates of 1976 to 1988 that sometimes confirm what we have suspected (but did not have documentation to support) and sometimes surprise us. The range is broad, from media views of the debates' format, function, sponsorship, and influence, to a rising media self-consciousness of that influence (and increased reliance on polls, thereby avoiding blame), to the media coverage of negative ads (there are several surprises here).

Yes, with a great variety of causal factors, the post-debate news verdicts do affect public opinion. As the authors state it, "An important verdict effect operates independent of partisanship and of the debates themselves" and even "seems to extend beyond perceptions of voting intentions."

What are the public policy implications of this impact? Of many discussed in this book a central one for those concerned about the democratic process is the cavalier media attitude toward the *purpose* of the debates. "Unfortunately, from the viewpoint of media support for the debates as an institution," the authors state, "importance to voters is neither mentioned nor implied very often." Post-debate news analyses "cast the importance of the debates in terms of candidate aspirations, not the needs of the voters."

"The networks have never emphasized the issue component of the debates and have focused primarily on the performance component." In fact, the percentage of television debate news coverage pertaining to issues dropped steadily, from 38 percent in 1976 to 5.7 percent in 1988, while coverage of tactics doubled. The authors note "one stable and constant finding: In each year, more than three of every four statements about the debates had no implications whatever concerning one of the debates' most widely accepted purposes: to inform voters about the choice they soon would have to make."

In contrast, the public ranked the actual debates high, indicating it preferred its candidate information as directly from the source as possible. Asked "When you evaluate the presidential candidates and the positions they present on issues

during the debates, how important are the following sources of information?" The surveyed respondents in 1988 gave their answers in this order: 1) the actual presidential debate, 2) newspaper articles about the debate, 3) talks with family and friends about the debate, and in last place television and radio reports about the debate. For information on who might win, even whether to vote, respondents ranked television news coverage first.

The complex effect of news media coverage of presidential campaigns and debates is indeed a matter for the whole society to re-evaluate. This book provides the thorough documentation we need to begin that task.

. . . Donna Allen
Women's Institute
for Freedom of the Press

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THE PAPERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: VOLUME 28: NOVEMBER 1, 1778, THROUGH FEBRUARY 28, 1779.
Edited by Barbara B. Oberg.
• Yale University Press
• 1990, 984 pp.
• $65, Cloth

YEARS BEFORE HIS death, Benjamin Franklin was aware that his ostensibly private correspondence was being copied and circulated on both sides of the Atlantic. In 1779 friend and fellow scientist Benjamin Vaughn published a selection of Franklin's letters and papers. "Your friendship for me appears in almost every page," Franklin wrote to him, "and if the preservation of any of them should prove of use to the public, it is to you that the public will owe the obligation."

The editors at Yale University continue the tradition in this latest volume of Franklin's correspondence, which spans just four months, November 1778 through February 1779. Much of the material in this volume involves implementation of the treaties that secured France's alliance to America. American commissioners John Adams, Arthur Lee, and Franklin grappled with such matters as which nation should protect trade between France and America, and how American and French forces should divide the spoils of war, including ships captured by privateering.

The most notable development during this four-month period was Franklin's appointment as minister plenipotentiary to the Court of France on 12 February. Franklin was delighted with this new challenge, for it gave him more autonomy and signaled a new level of American respect for his diplomatic skills. "This Mark of public Confidence, is the more agreeable to me, as it was not obtained by any Solicitation or Intrigue on my Part, nor have I ever written a Syllable to any Person in or out of Congress, magnifying my own Services or diminishing those of others," he wrote to his cousin Jonathan Williams, Jr., the following day.

Of interest to journalism historians, Franklin continued his decades-long practice of serving as a supplies broker between his European contacts and American printers. He mediated a transaction between French printer Simon-Pierre Fournier le Jeune and Connecticut printer James Watson for the purchase of type, and considered the prospect of sending to Connecticut both the equipment for a print shop and a skilled French printer who would become a partner in the shop.

There are also numerous references to the exchange of newspapers, the content of which was used to reinforce assertions made by their senders. The Committee for Foreign Affairs sent newspapers to Franklin "in which you will see that the Enemy are exerting their Force but too successfully in Georgia." Franklin underscored America's friendship with France when he sent newspapers to Genet that "contain particular Accounts of the great Harmony" between Americans and a French fleet that had arrived in Boston.

This latest volume of the Franklin papers continues Yale University's ambitious project of publishing most of the signifi-

cant writings of Franklin's life. It has been a boon to historians, although it will have consumed the better part of a century. Begun in the 1950s (volume 1 was published in 1959), it will require another twenty to thirty years to compile the papers from the final eleven years of Franklin's life.

. . . *Ralph Frasca*
University of Toledo

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FIGHTING WORDS: ESSAYS ON INTELLECTUALS, POLITICS AND POP.
By Jon Wiener.
• Routledge, Chapman and Hall
• 1991, 300 pp.
• $29.95, Cloth

THE LEFT AND the turbulent decade of the 1960s is being written about with new rigor and intensity as what some disparagingly call the "tenured radicals" apply the methods of history to the stuff of their own lives. Much of the work is good; Todd Gitlin's ambitious *The Sixties* (Bantam, 1987) is a compendium of unrelenting detail that holds together by force of the author's passion and personal experience. Greg Calvert's *Democracy from the Heart* (Communitas [Oregon], 1991) is sophisticated analysis that adds much to our understanding of the initial dreams of the student Left. Staughton Lynd, James Miller, Paul Buhle, and old standbys like sociologist Richard Flacks and the late Michael Harrington have contributed clear-headed comment.

Jon Wiener, with his recently published *Fighting Words*, is the newest entrant in the field. While not strictly a book about the sixties (although John Lennon, Bob Dylan, HUAC, and the Yippies all make appearances), it is a book about the ideas and ideals that matter to those of us who came of age during that time and now find ourselves on college campuses. Wiener, himself a Princeton undergraduate when the Beatles made their famous appearance on Ed Sullivan in 1964, now teaches history at the University of California, Irvine.

The book, with its iconographic Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band cover, is actually a series of forty-one previously published articles, more than half from the *Nation*, where Wiener is a contributing editor. A number of the essays, reviews, and columns he chooses for this collection tackle the major intellectual debates that captured the campus imagination in the 1980s—from deconstruction to divestment, from feminism to free speech, from the rise of the radical right to CIA recruitment on campus, from the persecution of professors for their political beliefs to the radical-ization of a new generation of students.

Wiener writes clearly, forcefully, even sometimes wittily—but almost always superficially about a wide range of contemporary issues. His articles include meaty statements of the problems he addresses, but are thin—very thin—on real analysis. His critiques are solid but unimaginative, with the kind of insights that might come to any of us during the course of a casual conversation with a colleague.

For example, in a 1989 essay from the *Nation*, he offers the prosaic argument that the resurgence of racial tension on campus is due to the legitimization and institutionalization of racism by the Reagan and Bush administrations. This may be true—in fact, self-evident—but it is not thoughtful analysis and does not help us understand the source of our seemingly bottomless well-spring of national bigotry. In a brief piece about young radicals on today's campuses, Wiener avoids the messy issues of failed strategies of the sixties to say that today's young turks admire their predecessors.

One of the more substantial essays is a historical analysis of the growth and acceptance of radical history, previously published in the *Journal of American History*. Here Wiener offers an excellent overview of more than two decades of scholarship and asks some interesting questions. But his conclusions—that radical history is itself a historical product and that historians' agendas were trans-

formed by the movements of the sixties—are hardly revelatory.

Most of the pieces, which made for decent journalism when they were published, suffer for being brought together in book form. As columns in monthly magazines they were erudite and relatively thoughtful. But as essays in a book, they lack the depth and creativity of analysis a reader expects from this more permanent medium.

. . . *Lauren Kessler*
University of Oregon

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DEADLINE: A MEMOIR.
By James Reston.
• Random
• 1991, 525 pp.
• $25, Cloth

WITHIN A WEEK after arriving in Dayton, Ohio, from Scotland at age 11, James Reston, full of the entrepreneurial spirit that has always characterized his countrymen abroad, got a job as a caddy and earned one dollar.

That was only the beginning of a splendid and happy career: from caddy to college golf champion, to AP sports writer, to a job with the *New York Times* in London during the blitz, to *Times* Washington bureau chief and columnist. And it is not over yet: Reston is still expressing himself in op-ed pieces now and then.

As any Reston follower would expect, the book is permeated by the author's instinctive preference for emphasizing the best in human nature when possible. But he is no Pollyanna, and he cannot resist a dig occasionally. For example he writes of his marriage to his beloved Sally: "The AP, always romantic and generous, gave me Christmas Day off for our honeymoon, with instructions to get my column in on the next morning" (4).

He also cannot resist repeating a story from the days when he and other reporters used "money-saving cablese" for long-distance communication. This reviewer has seen the story attributed in print to Ernest Hemingway, and also heard it as concerning "a UPI man," but Reston attributes it specifically to Glenn Babbs, an AP editor in Tokyo who needed to come home, but was ordered by general manager Kent Cooper to stay in Tokyo or quit. Babbs reportedly wired, "Upstick job asswards."

But Reston has much more important information to convey than urban legends. His autobiography is also history, primarily of the United States and its politics in World War II and through almost all of the Cold War years. But as he notes in his introduction, his story is not just the reporter's look at big events from the outside in, but for the first time, a story "from the inside out."

The inside includes his lifelong romance with Sally, his love (realistic and hence jolted by disappointment) for his adopted country, his obvious love for his craft, his personal observations about the people he met and the experiences he had as he practiced that craft, and his faith that the free press is an essential element in nourishing responsible government.

In a book full of fascinating historical material, the personal sketches of important people stand out, particularly because they are not a few inside tidbits about quirks, but tapestries that weave concern for ideas, policies, and politics into the fabric. Particularly good are the sketches of Walter Lippman, Dean Acheson, Adlai Stevenson, Lyndon Johnson, and Richard Nixon, "the man who trusted nobody." The sketch is a masterly one, for Reston's drive has always been to understand rather than to rage. Thus, even as he details the dishonesty and paranoid power-seeking of Nixon, he notes the man's intelligence and his good "Quaker side." Finally, however, Reston condemns him not in personal terms, but according to more important standards: "In the end it was left to the Constitution, which he tried to evade, to put an end to his astonishing career. I found that the most consoling event of the seventies" (414).

Such cool judgments only make more poignant the warmth of Reston's

love for his wife and for the whole business of being alive, with all its problems. "In a way, the life of a reporter carries one into the larger life of the world and encourages self-forgetfulness," Reston writes in his last page, "for one shares in the eternal pilgrimage of the human family." To read this splendid book is indeed to go on as colorful, amusing, and fascinating a pilgrimage as any Chaucer undertook to Canterbury. *Deadline* should take a place alongside *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* and Russell Baker's personal histories as books to give as journalism prizes to all the young hopefuls in our future.

. . . Edward A. Nickerson
Univ. of Delaware (emer.)

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THE NEWSPRINT MASK: THE TRADITION OF THE FICTIONAL JOURNALIST IN AMERICA.
Edited by Welford Dunaway Taylor.
• Iowa State University Press
• 1991, 268 pp.
• $25.95, Cloth

A PROFESSOR IN the department of English at the University of Richmond, Welford Dunaway Taylor is a scholar with particular interest in Sherwood Anderson. He has expanded that interest in *The Newsprint Mask: The Tradition of the Fictional Journalist in America* by adding Anderson to a colorful list of thirty-one American humorists from the 1700s to the present day.

In *The Newsprint Mask*, Taylor suggests that the use of a fictitious identity in American newspaper history occurred for two primary reasons. First, the point of view of the common person could be represented in a style that can, as Taylor writes, "deflate the pompous and unmask the pretentious." The longevity and popularity of that goal in a nation founded on principles of democracy are obvious; Americans continue to delight in the fall of the mighty from public grace.

Second, the creators of personae also dealt throughout American history with complex and painful social and political issues that readers often preferred to avoid. As Taylor writes of Willliam Penn Adair Rogers, he was a "complex man who avoided burdening his readers with his own problems or fears. He expressed opinions on disaster and tragedy, to be sure, but he did so in a manner that relieved, rather than underscored, such burdens."

The Newsprint Mask is of value to students of literary journalism and of American newspaper history. The quotation that precedes the table of contents is the best justification for Taylor's assemblage of thirty-one humorists. Taylor quotes William Makepeace Thackeray: "I take up a volume of Doctor Smollett, or a volume of the *Spectator*, and say that fiction carries a greater amount of truth in solution than the volume which purports to be true. Out of the fictitious book I get the expression of the life of the time; of the manners, or the movement, the dress, the pleasures, the laughter, the ridicules of society—the old times live again. . . . Can the heaviest historian do more for me?"

Most of the excerpts that Taylor includes relay complex social and political issues via humor, satire, and even sacrcasm. The approach makes the issues palatable to an audience exhausted with dealing with serious issues such as racial and gender inequality and regionalism. The columns and letters Taylor includes in *The Newsprint Mask* express the issues of the day and allow readers to laugh at themselves—often enabling them to move toward compromise and understanding.

The disparate pieces Taylor assembles testify to what Taylor presents as evidence that the "journalistic masks created by American authors" constitute a "separate literary tradition." The book is divided into nine sections: "Colonials" (Benjamin Franklin, William Parks); "Federals" (Philip Freneau, Joseph Dennie): "Yankees" (Seba Smith, James Russell Lowell, Frances M. Whitcher); "Frontiersmen" (George Washington Harris, William Tappan

Thompson, Francis Bartow Lloyd); "Literary Comedians" (Charles Farrar Browne, David Ross Locke, Charles Henry Smith, Robert Henry Newell, Henry Wheeler Shaw, Samuel Langhorne Clemens); "The Melting Pot" (Samuel W. Small, George Wilbur Peck, Joel Chandler Harris, Charles Bertrand Lewis, Edward W. Townsend, Charles Follen Adams); "Colymnists" (Donald Robert Perry Marquis, Finley Peter Dunne); "Cracker-Barrel Philosophers" (Frank McKinney Hubbard, William Penn Adair Rogers, Philander Chase Johnson); and "Nostalgists" (Sherwood Anderson, Charles R. McDowell, Jr., Edward Streeter, Richard E. Yates).

Troubling to the first-time reader of *The Newsprint Mask* are observations by Taylor that "Old Si," the creation of Samuel W. Small, and "Uncle Remus," the creation of Joel Chandler Harris, were a "conscious attempt at an authentic rendering of the thought, speech, and manner of a black prototype" by white authors. Taylor does not describe or define the "black prototype" for which "Old Si" and "Uncle Remus" were fair representations.

That fact makes the two as problematic for modern readers as was the creation of Amos 'n' Andy (whose voices were supplied by white actors Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll). What Taylor calls the "good-natured laughter at Negro life" may be difficult for some readers to buy. It may also be a concern to readers that in the thirty-one biographical vignettes provided in *The Newsprint Mask* only one is a woman (Frances M. Whitcher).

However, Taylor explains his goal and selections with flair and confidence. Of the creations of ethnic minorities in American journalism, he writes in the introduction: "On balance, the voices that represented ethnic strains in the American press were good natured. The principal purpose was not to criticize, not to condescend, not even to point to ethnic peculiarities of the groups represented by the eidolons. It was rather to seize upon the lighter, more colorful aspects of the various types and to use these to establish a fresh, candid, and unvarnished point of view for reporting on the great passing parade that was fin de siêcle America. In achieving this end they were certainly successful, and their remarks remain as unique snapshots of moments in our past, the like of which will not come again."

Taylor speculates that the end of the alter ego/mask/persona in American journalism occurred because contemporary television anchors and newspapers want primarily to establish a reputation and a name for themselves. Whatever the case, it is clear after reading *The Newsprint Mask* that American journalism has thereby lost a provocative, engaging, and witty means to describe and interpret contemporary events.

... *Jan Whitt*
University of Colorado

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THE ESSENTIAL FLEET STREET. ITS HISTORY AND INFLUENCE.
By Ray Boston.
• Blandford
• 1990, 192 pp.
• £14.95, Cloth

THE DEMISE OF Fleet Street, for over three centuries the center—and heartland—of British journalism, has inspired the production of several "coffee table" books on the history and reminiscences of the "Street of Ink," the "Street of Hasty Judgement and Elastic Morality," and the "Street of Shame," as it has previously been accoladed and denigrated. Ray Boston's work is of this genre and an effort to celebrate that fabled avenue just east of the Strand leading to Ludgate Hill and St. Paul's Cathedral.

The photographs, illustrations, and maps in this book—thanks to the work of that polymath of the British press, David Linton—are excellent and extremely interesting. Preceded by Harold Evans's pertinent foreword, the narrative comprises a succinct prologue and ten chapters of varying length with such headings as

"The Place: Why Fleet Street?" "'A Focus of Vulgarity and Sedition,'" "Pimps and Pimpernels?" and "Milestones and Markers." The commentary is well organized, attractive, and fast-moving (albeit somewhat glib), but unfortunately marred by some dubious assumptions and facile generalizations. For example, both John Ruskin and George Bernard Shaw might have been dismayed by the suggestion that they were habitués of London's "Clubland." And, on the relationship between Shaw and W. T. Stead, from 1883 to 1890 the renowned editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Boston's assertion (on the basis of one letter from Shaw to the *Pall Mall Gazette*) that Shaw admired Stead and was friendly to him is quite off the mark. In fact, Shaw consistently viewed and disparaged Stead as a hopeless Philistine. Likewise, the statement that Stead, "in his buttoned-up English way," never contemplated emigrating to the United States is incorrect. Stead, notorious for his informal and unconventional dress (regarded by friends and foes as the worst on Fleet Street), speech, and attitudes, was anything but the caricatured straight-laced Englishman. Boston is apparently similarly unaware that, following the failure of his first hoped-for *Daily Paper* project and during his famous "crusade" in Chicago in 1893–94, a despairing Stead *did* contemplate leaving England for a new career in journalism in the United States.

The author's citations to sources in the endnotes (for chapter 6—the most annotated chapter in the book) also evoke some unease on the provenance and research for this work. Thus some of the material in chapter 6 ("Pimps and Pimpernels?") and its endnotes seem to be based on an article (by another person) in a periodical that is neither cited in Boston's endnote apparatus nor in his "Select Bibliography" for the book. Nor does Boston cite (anywhere in his work) the essays that he and others have contributed on aspects of the same subject to Joel Wiener's *Papers for the Millions* (Greenwood, 1988). Then there is also the listing in a few endnotes (again in chapter 6) of a source that he could not have consulted because it is not available in the collection he cited.

Nevertheless, despite these blemishes, this book provides an interesting overview of Fleet Street as it was and as it should be remembered in its heyday. Its value is well augmented by a very serviceable index (also the work of David Linton) and by the attractive format and book jacket provided by the publisher.

. . . J. O. Baylen
Eastbourne, England

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KOSSUTH AS AN ENGLISH JOURNALIST.
By Eva H. Haraszti.
• Columbia University Press
• 1991, 404 pp.
• $45, Cloth

KOSSUTH AS AN English Journalist is two books, four chapters by Eva Haraszti and 110 nineteenth-century writings by or about Louis Kossuth. Lacking any statement of purpose, the work plunges the reader into a chapter of the same name that presents contemporaries' evaluations of Kossuth's performance. Haraszti touches first on the opinion of the *Sunday Times*, which employed him from January to March 1855. She then summarizes comments introduced or recycled by the *Atlas*, where he spent the rest of that year, his only one as a regular contributor. Although she frequently paraphrases the writings, she never supplies their numbers and not always their dates. She fails to cross-reference them, so tracing an issue is tedious, and she disregards given names in text and index. Still, this chapter does concentrate on Kossuth.

The same cannot be said about chapter 2, on exiles in Britain, which depends heavily on Bernard Porter's *The Regugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics* (Books on Demand) and chapter 4, on the Crimean War, which relies on Alan Hankinson's *Man of Wars: W. H. Russell and the Times* (Ashgate, 1982). Both sections men-

tion Kossuth but offer much information of dubious relevance and, without evidence, broad generalizations about official views. Filling pages thusly, Haraszti misses or confuses crucial matters typically unindexed. For example, she alludes to the stamp tax but ignores its importance for the press, which Joel Weiner has demonstrated. She obfuscates the nexus between the English police and refugees, which Phillip T. Smith has clarified.

A glance at Smith's *Policing Victorian London* (Greenwood, 1985) would have improved her description of the surveillance of Kossuth's house in chapter 3. Captioned "Kossuth and Britain. Contributions, 1849–1853," it explains his attempts to influence British policy, chiefly in favor of Hungary. Haraszti uses a variety of sources, Hungarian and English, to detail pivotal years in his life. Unfortunately, these have little to do with her subject and the only periodicals that she notices are the *Times* and the *Reasoner*.

The reprints include Kossuth's articles and the letters of his champions and foes in the *Sunday Times* and the *Atlas* in 1855; letters to the *Times* in 1853, 1854, 1859, and 1861, the *Daily News* in 1854, and the *Democrat and Labour Advocate* in 1855; a speech excerpted in the *Times* in 1858; that gazette's report of a lecture in 1859; and miscellaneous holdings of the National Archives, in Budapest. Each entry is preceded by Haraszti's abstract of its contents but not all are in chronological order.

Kossuth focused on the Crimean War. Hostile to Russia and especially Austria, friendly to the Porte, disdainful of Louis Napoleon, distrustful of British diplomacy, he promoted a Polish campaign. He endorsed revolutions for national independence and criticized aristocratic government, invoking the ghost of Oliver Cromwell as surety. His style was occasionally repetitive, usually dogmatic. He had significant ideas about journalism, which Haraszti overlooks, and about his role in Hungarian politics.

Without either bibliography or reliable index, with a few uncredited pictures and maps and typographical errors in the chapters, besides a disclaimer for the documents, the volume's only value to students of serials is convenient access to Kossuth's essays.

... *E. M. Palmegiano*
Saint Peter's College

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IMAGES OF A FREE PRESS.
By Lee C. Bollinger.
• University of Chicago Press
• 1991, 192 pp.
• $22.50, Cloth

IN HIS BOOK *Images of a Free Press*, Lee C. Bollinger tackles one of the most persistent problems facing media law scholars today, that of coming to terms with the disparity between the levels of First Amendment protection afforded to the broadcast and print media. He does so with a fascinating analysis that justifies broadcast regulation as healthy for broadcasting, the print media, and society at large.

Bollinger, the dean of the University of Michigan Law School, begins by evaluating what he says is the central image of press freedom today. It is the image articulated by the United States Supreme Court in *New York Times* v. *Sullivan* (1964) of a watchdog press helping citizen critics of the untrustworthy government to participate in the democratic governmental process. However, he contends that reality is significantly more complex than this "romantic" view of the press, and he says the *Sullivan* model is inconsistent and sometimes leads to bad results.

Bollinger says that when the Court uses the intellectual framework it developed in *Sullivan* to decide cases, it too often ignores the extent to which the free press can be a threat to democracy. For example, libel laws that give the media the legal advantage in libel cases filed by public officials can dissuade qualified candidates from seeking public office and thereby harm the democracy. Bollinger also argues that the Court often un-

dervalues the private costs of the press freedom in libel and privacy cases. Referring to a case in which the Court supported publication of the name of a rape victim obtained from a judicial record, Bollinger says that "a Court sensitive to the privacy costs involved surely would have noted that to a normal person there is a great difference between having a humiliating and embarrassing fact recorded in a transcript housed at the local courthouse and having it become the headline of the local newspaper or television station."

Both of those problems arising from the *Sullivan* model of the free press—the threat to democracy and the undervaluing of private harm done by the press — increase as ownership concentration continues to increase, he says.

The Supreme Court's "astonishing" failure to address such matters is moderated by two factors, however. One is the Court's power to create an image of the press and its relation to the government and the public that sets a high standard for press performance. The other moderating factor is a system of broadcast regulation that is based on an intellectual framework decidedly different from that articulated in *Sullivan*. Bollinger's discussion of the relationship between the law of the free print media and the law of broadcast regulation is the heart of his book.

Although public opinion appears to support a shift toward a print model of press freedom for all the media, Bollinger argues as he did in a 1976 law review article that the dual system is a logical one as both a matter of constitutional law and a matter of public policy. He says the system of broadcast regulation, as articulated by the Supreme Court, has involved "a complete reordering of the relationships between the government, the press, and the public that was established with *New York Times* v. *Sullivan*." The Court's "virtual celebration" of broadcast regulation has created an image of the broadcast media in which the government intervenes between the public and the media. "The state, in the middle, executes the will of the people to insure that broadcasters provide adequate service to the realm of pubic debate." The result is "a massive regulatory enterprise aimed at insuring fairness in the media of television and radio."

In addition to that direct benefit to society, according to Bollinger's analysis, the two images of the free media interact in a way that benefits each of them. He says Court decisions in press cases have encouraged broadcasters to adopt the standards of professional journalists, and Court decisions in broadcast cases have encouraged the print media to allow public access to their publications.

Bollinger observes that the First Amendment has several layers of meaning. So does his book. He analyzes case law, scrutinizes our political system, offers fresh insights into the meaning and costs of freedom of the press, and offers several provocative hypotheses. He is one of few First Amendment theorists to ponder broadcast regulation and is not afraid to address difficult questions. This book is crisply written and intriguing from start to finish.

Certainly Bollinger's support for government regulation of broadcasting will not sit well with broadcasters and others who argue that the recent proliferation of communication technologies has eliminated the need for such regulation. Also, his emphasis on the Fairness Doctrine, which was repealed in 1987, seems of questionable value considering that Congress is unlikely to reenact the rule; and Bollinger leaves for another day the significant question of whether we do in fact have a more robust public debate because of broadcast regulation. None of that detracts a great deal from this thoughtful book, however.

... *Cathy Packer*
Univ. of North Carolina

●

BERLIN CALLING: AMERICAN BROADCASTERS IN SERVICE TO THE THIRD REICH.
By John Carver Edwards.
• Praeger
• 1991, 288 pp.
• $21.95, Cloth

THIS IS A book about German broadcast history during World War II. Specifically it documents the involvement of Americans in voicing German propaganda over shortwave radio to Allied nations. Early in this work it is noted that "among the great world powers, Germany was the first to employ foreign nationals as propagandists to their respective countries" (7).

This work does not deal with the *theory* of propaganda, except in one paragraph where Hitler's propaganda philosophy is summarized. The bulk of this book is given over to brief biographies of five American broadcasters employed by the Third Reich during the war.

The overpowering impression left with the reader is the great naïveté of the American announcers, despite the fact that each had travelled widely and had an above-average education. Each used humor in his broadcasts to poke fun at the foibles of the British and American political and social elite. This use of humor apparently was the key that gained entry for their broadcasts into a few thousand American homes, especially during the Spanish Civil War and the early months of World War II.

The author admits that the American audience for these broadcasts "was always small and those who tuned in did so mainly for the purpose of amusement" (577). Then why publish such a book, particularly since the five individuals' stories have been told and retold elsewhere? It seems that the author's intent was threefold: 1) to furnish a *comparative* study of the formative influences on these expatriate broadcasters; 2) to note that pleas of insanity or constitutional right to freedom of speech frequently let people escape conviction on charges of treason once World War II ended; and 3) to assert that the treasonous broadcasters of the 1940s fit the profile of "marginal men" as described by the sociologist Robert Park.

Must we put *all* crimes against our country behind us quickly, as President Gerald Ford seemed to say when he pardoned Richard Nixon? No, of course not, but the definition of treasonous speech needs refinement. Americans speaking out in Hanoi during the Vietnam War were not convicted of treason either.

A bigger problem comes in grappling with the assertion that treasonous broadcasters are simply "marginal men" who do not quite fit in with the society in which they grew up and are not quite ready for the society to which they seek entrance. Are we therefore to *pity* these broadcasters? Are they to be viewed as not entirely responsible for their broadcasts? If so, other readers of this work will close this book and walk away with an upset stomach, as this reviewer did.

... Donald L. McBride
Southern Illinois University

●

IN THE PUBLIC EYE: A HISTORY OF READING IN MODERN FRANCE, 1800–1940.
By James Smith Allen.
• Princeton University Press
• 1991, 325 pp.
• $39.50, Cloth

FEW FIELDS IN history currently hold as much attention as the investigations into reading in the past. Scholars interested in ideas, influenced by social historians, have become more concerned about explaining the broader understandings of published works. While many have relied on theories of discourse that envision a generalized understanding of the content of texts, others have explored the abilities of auditors and readers to fashion independent interpretations. For this last group, the history of reading holds special import. Encouraging such attention has been the present popularity within the professoriate of contemporary literary criticism. The field's

inclination to focus on the ambiguities of texts and role of the reader has also stimulated scholarship about past reading habits.

Despite such enthusiasm actual research into reading has been extraordinarily scarce because the subject remains so elusive. Evidence of how individuals read remains thin and may be gleaned largely by inference. Furthermore, the very lack of studies inhibits others because of an absence of comparisons or working hypotheses.

Endeavoring to seize the opportunity and challenge of the history of reading is James Smith Allen's *In the Public Eye.* This is an extremely ambitious book based on vast research and an enviable mastery of the secondary literature in numerous fields. The range of materials—publishing data, fan mail, the content of novels, and much more — would have defeated all but the most diligent scholar.

The parts of Allen's argument in this welter of material are not easy to fit together, but he convincingly combines the disparate threads in his conclusion. Reading changed from a public to an increasingly private activity at the same time as interpretation by individuals became less stylized and more personal. In fact, argues Allen, "the noble sentiments and enthusiasms in response to the romantics in time evolved into the outrage over immoral monuments of prose realism. This in turn gave way to the personal sensibilities and identities of readers encountering the symbolists in the twentieth century" (306). Even the cues embedded in texts seemed to emphasize the individual, as symbolist works left considerable room for readers to discern their meaning.

Despite the clarity and believability of the thesis of *In the Public Eye,* scholars will challenge this work. This will come as no surprise to Allen who is not dogmatic and recognizes some of the treacherousness of the ground he occupies. And one might further add that the difficulty of knowing anything about reading ought to provide some latitude. Nonetheless, readers will find it difficult to connect his specific examples to his generalizations. In general, Allen offers too many cases with too little explication, leaving one unclear about the validity of his assertions. Also, a significant bulk of his evidence of how readers reacted to texts comes from fan mail and formal reviews. Although he relies on the concept that these groups formed interpretive communities whose importance allowed them to exercise some hegemony, some historians will find their reactions elite and unrepresentative.

Perhaps the most significant problem stems not from *In the Public Eye* specifically but generally from the study of reading. Allen's work and other similar investigations provide the attitudes of readers but not their interpretations of what they read. It is this last goal that inspired the study of reading, which ironically it seems unable to reach. Historians of reading assert that the past meaning of writing may emerge by negotiating between authorial intention and readers' attitudes, but at the present we seem stuck on one or another of the two poles without a scheme to pull them together.

... Jack R. Censer
George Mason University

●

PERSPECTIVES ON MASS COMMUNICATION HISTORY.
By Wm. David Sloan.
• Lawrence Erlbaum
•1991, 425 pp.
• $69.95, Cloth; $29.95, Paper

PERSPECTIVES ON Mass Communication History is the first and thus far only full-length book to examine historiographical issues in this field, and represents a long overdue first step in developing an important area of study. Instructors of undergraduate journalism history courses are likely to find it very useful for introducing students to some of the interpretive debates in journalism history. Unfortunately, it is too lacking in conceptual rigor to be useful in graduate courses.

The book introduces the

concept of interpretation in the history of United States journalism. The first two chapters discuss the concept of interpretation in mass communication history and history in general. The remainder, with a few exceptions, discuss various interpretive strategies in the history of the American journalistic press, following the usual periodization and geographical categories such as the "Colonial Press," "Party Press," "Frontier Press," "Antebellum Press," and so forth. The exceptions are chapters on women in media, public relations, advertising, magazine, radio, and television history.

This book more accurately named would be *Perspectives on American Journalism History*. One looks in vain for discussion of the historiography of mass communication—or even journalism—in other countries; of the historiography of communications technology; or of the historiography of the ethnic press, labor press, radical press, book publishing, popular culture, film, or photography. Even the chapter on women in media turns primarily on journalism history; the chapter on the "Black Media" is almost exclusively about the historiography of African-American newspapers.

While it would be easy enough to correct this flaw by a simple name change, the fact that the author, his editors, and publisher were willing to use this overly ambitious title unfortunately reflects American journalism historians' ethnocentrism and narrow conceptualization of the subject matter of mass communication history. Mass communications history in the western hemisphere did not begin with the American colonial press, but with Gutenberg. Mass communication history in the eastern hemisphere ran a very different trajectory from that in the west, but that does not make the study of mass communication in that part of the world any less pertinent than the study of its development in the west.

The ethnocentrism of the book produces other flaws. If Sloan were to have examined the historiography of British or European or Latin American mass media, for instance, he would have found significantly more work done within a rich variety of Marxist and feminist perspectives; he would have encountered increasing use of poststructuralist and psychoanalytic theories of language both in the understanding of the cultural texts (newspapers or whatever), their producers, and their audiences, and in the understanding of what historians do.

The problem with this book is not, simply, its presumption of comprehensiveness. It is conceptually flawed from the beginning.

In chapter 1, Sloan begins by stating "Two pasts exist side by side. One is the real past, the past as it truly occurred. The other is the past as explained by historians" (1). That statement itself offers a traditional but debatable perspective on historical knowledge. It presumes that there is a knowable reality existing independently from the structures of language and narrative through which we know it, against which we can measure the "truthfulness" of any given historical account. Alternative perspectives on the nature of historical knowledge are left out. (See, for example, Hans Kellner, *Language and Historical Representation: Getting the Story Crooked* [University of Wisconsin Press, 1989], and Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* [Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987]).

In his discussion of the problems of interpretation, Sloan reproduces the conventional claim that "good historians do not set out with a theory and marshal facts to fit it" (11). However, many others have argued that all knowledge is grounded in theory; historical facts do not become historical facts until a theory provides us with the frame through which we may see them as facts. Until we have a theory of women's oppression, for instance, we cannot see most of the evidence that supports it. As long as we assume that individuals exist prior to so-

cial structure, we cannot see the ways in which social structure forms individuals. As long as we assume that language is a transparent medium used to more or less accurately describe reality, we cannot see the ways in which language structures the reality we presume merely to observe.

The book is also flawed by the author's failure to rigorously define and apply his own categories. For instance, in the first chapter Sloan outlines his categories of historiographical schools. Lumped under "ideological perspectives" are the Nationalist School, the Romantic School, the Progressive School, and the Consensus School. "Ideological" perspectives are those that have "given preeminence to political and social issues and attitudes in explaining mass communication history." That definition is too vague to be useful, as I discuss later.

Sloan lists other "ideological schools" such as "Feminist," "Black Militant," "Neo-Conservative," "Marxist," and "Business" schools in this chapter, but does not define them; they are only sketchily described in the later chapters in which they are used. The term *ideological* has pejorative connotations, and there is nothing here to suggest that Sloan is using it descriptively rather than judgmentally.

Other perspectives Sloan discusses are "Professional" (actually, the Developmental School), and "Cultural," further divided into the "true" Cultural School, which, Sloan argues, James Carey thoroughly misunderstood and misrepresented, and Carey's "Symbolic Meaning School." The strongest proponents of the "Symbolic Meaning School," Sloan asserts, are "trained in philosophical and sociological approaches to studying mass communication, rather than historical research." The unfortunate result is that "they have provided little historical evidence to substantiate" the theory that cultural institutions (which Sloan erroneously reduces to "the press") play a significant role in constructing human consciousness (9).

This abrupt dismissal of the so-called "symbolic meaning" school reflects Sloan's own a priori assumptions about the nature of reality and its relationship to language and culture. Sloan takes those assumptions for granted and demands that scholars who approach cultural institutions from the perspective of other theoretical frameworks speak from within his own.

Equally important, one wonders why the "Cultural School" was not grouped with "Ideological Perspectives," for cultural explanations also take political and social issues and attitudes into account. There are a wide variety of feminist cultural perspectives, for instance, as well as varieties of Marxist cultural perspectives, and liberal pluralist cultural perspectives, and black feminist cultural perspectives, and so on. And there are tremendous differences, for example, between Marxist scholars who work within a cultural perspective and those who emphasize political economy.

Moreover, one could argue that the so-called "Developmental School" was also ideological, in that the "central tenets" of journalistic practice as they developed in the twentieth century, on which this "School" is grounded, represent an ideological commitment to a particular form of social organization, notably American capitalism.

In short, Sloan's categorization of the historiography of "mass communication" reflects a number of unacknowledged theoretical and political commitments. Just as there are many ways of constructing the story of "mass communication history," there are many ways of constructing the historiography of that history.

One could object less to Sloan's interpretive scheme if it were more rigorously applied. Examples of sloppy thinking are represented in, among others, chapter 7, "Women in Media, 1700–Present: Victims or Equals?" and chapter 12, "The Black Media, 1865–Present: Liberal Crusaders or Defenders of Tradition?"

Chapter 7, authored by

Julie A. Hedgepeth, discusses the historical literature about women in the media. Hedgepeth (under what I assume was Sloan's guidance and control, since Sloan is listed as the sole author of the book, rather than as editor) states that "the Romantic School" of interpretation of women in media flourished as late as 1940. However, in chapter 1, Sloan specifically defined that school as historically limited to conservative, elite men writing about the history of newspapers in the last half of the eighteenth century (4). Similarly, Bernell Tripp, discussing the historical literature about African-American newspapers, states that the "Romantic School" of interpretation in African-American media lasted until the end of World War II.

If the "Romantic School" is limited historically to elite men writing during a particular historical period, then the historians to whom Hedgepeth and Tripp refer must belong to a very different interpretive school: if it is not an historically limited term, then Sloan's definition in the first chapter must be drastically revised.

Finally, an important technical point: Tripp, Hedgepeth, and numerous other authors of chapters in this book are not acknowledged as authors, neither on the title page nor in the table of contents, but rather receive bylines at the bottom of each chapter's first page. Of twenty-four chapters, thirteen are written by others and two have co-authors with Sloan. No explanation is offered for this arrangement, not even in the preface.

... *Georgia NeSmith*
SUNY Brockport

●

COMMUNICATION AND CITIZENSHIP: JOURNALISM AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN THE NEW MEDIA AGE.
Edited by Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks.
• Routledge, Chapman, and Hall
• 1991, 256 pp.
• $59.95, Cloth

AS THE INFORMATION revolution spreads over the globe like a blanket, nurturing democracy, what latent messages will the news media convey to their new audiences?

Failure—the economy is a disaster and workers and managers are immoral, incompetent, and corrupt? Power—the system can do the unthinkable and individuals are powerless subjects of the system? Distance—rather than involvement and mobilization, politics is based on stances and self-supporting values of traditional structures?

Despite the familiar tone, the author was not describing the United States, but citing a report on perceptions in Poland that emerged from sudden news media openness. That is one taste of the food for thought in this book, a collection of readings from papers presented at a 1989 colloquium. Held in Dubrovnik under the auspices of Stockholm University, the conference and readings reflect an international perspecive.

In his well-written introduction setting the book's course, editor Peter Dahlgren plays off the public sphere idea as developed by Jurgen Habermas of the Frankfurt School of media analysis, with media manipulation as its core course. Noting that the rise of democracy in the west coincided historically with the rise of the mass media as the key institution of the public sphere, Dahlgren says the term *public sphere* may be used as a synonym for the processes of public opinion "or for the news media themselves." For Habermas, the public sphere as an analytic category entered decline and disintegration in the industrialized welfare states of advanced capitalism, where middle-class masses, after carving out a new social and political space for themselves, squandered this potential to mass consumption and leisure entertainment. By the twentieth century public opinion was no longer rational discourse, but the result of public relations, advertising, and social engineering via the media. However, as Dahlgren points out, Habermas's

idealization of the public sphere, even at what he viewed as its high point in the mid-nineteenth century, was never as reasoned nor as mass-oriented as he indicated, nor was the situation under "advanced capitalism" as negative and narrow as he suggested. However, he brought needed attention to the discrepancy between the discourse about concepts such as the *public sphere* and the actual social relations and values reflected in things as they are. It is these ideas, played out in global communications context, which the authors engage in this intriguing (if somewhat uneven) collection. Although only a few of the writers mention Habermas by name, all confront his ideas about the blurring of politics, entertainment, and news.

Along with the obligatory complaints about sound-bite political campaigns and the decline of discourse (probably no worse now, for all its horrors, than in the past, as Todd Gitlin deftly points out in this volume), there are some engaging comparative studies and new directions proffered for further research, complete with some ideas for methodologies. For instance, in "The Global Newsroom," Michael Gurevitch, Mark Levy, and Itzhak Roeh analytically demonstrate that each nation's journalists and editors, in the process of "domesticating the foreign" as they put it, often use common videotape footage about world events. However, they put certain cultural and narrative spins on the information for their particular audiences, offering a golden opportunity for varied cross-cultural analysis.

However, the collection reflects a common bias in communications research, a bias toward news production and practices, or narrow political effects, with little attention focused on the audience's uses of the material produced or its views of politics or news. Even "citizenship," despite the book's title, gets short shrift here. Although a few of the chapters hint at this two-way cultural dimension, the masses, as always, tend to get mushed together and mused over. And the "press," as Colin Sparks puts it elsewhere in the volume, too often becomes a "portmanteau term."

There is another bias, exacerbated by the nascent state of global communications technology, toward the horizontal axis of power—the United States and Europe. And if there is a hole in the book as a whole, it is the lack of discussion about the nature of global communications technology, particularly where and how the technology drives production and practices—as well as mass access—all important to discussions of the "public sphere."

Finally, although the book's editors ensured that the style of this latest addition to the Routledge Communication and Society series (edited by James Curran) was clear and accessible, it still suffers from vagaries in approach. Some chapters are polemical, some are analytical, some are explorations. And one might have hoped for a concluding chapter as strong as the editor's introduction. Unfortunately, the book peters out with a kind of personal odyssey by Ian Connell through the ever-amazing world of England's tabloids.

However, despite any shortcomings, *Communication and Citizenship* is a valuable exploration of the varied dimensions of the concept *public sphere,* crossfertilized by ideas and findings from political science. It is timely, thorough, thought-provoking and forward-looking, especially now as democracies sprout under the warmth of the global communications blanket

. . . *Sandra L. Haarsager*
University of Idaho

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AMERICAN JOURNALISM

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- Joseph Pulitzer as an American Hegelian
- War as Monarchial Folly in the Early American Press

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EDITORIAL PURPOSE. *American Journalism* publishes articles, research notes, book reviews, and correspondence dealing with the history of journalism. Such contributions may focus on social, economic, intellectual, political, or legal issues. *American Journalism* also welcomes articles that treat the history of communication in general; the history of broadcasting, advertising, and public relations; the history of media outside the United States; and theoretical issues in the literature or methods of media history.

SUBMISSIONS. All articles, research notes, and correspondence should be sent to Professor Wallace B. Eberhard, Editor, College of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Georgia, Athens 30602-3018. Telephone: (706) 542-5033. FAX: (706) 542-4785. Authors should send four copies of manuscripts submitted for publication as articles. *American Journalism* follows the style requirements of the *Chicago Manual of Style*. The maximum length for most manuscripts is twenty-five pages, not including tables and footnotes.

All submissions are blind refereed by three readers and the review process typically takes about three months. Manuscripts will be returned only if the author includes a self-addressed stamped envelope.

Research notes are typically three- to six-page manuscripts, written without formal documentation. Such notes, which are not blind refereed, may include reports of research in progress, discussion of methodology, annotations on new archival sources, commentaries on issues in journalism history, suggestions for future research, or response to material previously published in *American Journalism*. Authors who wish to contribute research notes are invited to query the editor.

(Continued on inside back cover.)

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From the Editor's Desk...

THE FIRST PUBLICATION I EDITED was a one-page newspaper for Miss Hess's fifth grade class in the Niles, Michigan, elementary system. The technology was not of an advanced nature. A hectograph gelatin duplicator, kind of a tray of Jell-O from which copies could be made, was the printing press. The process, when spread out on the Eberhard dining room table, made even my patient mother cat-nervous. I was a purple, pluperfect mess when all was printed and done. But, it worked.

This tour of duty as *American Journalism*'s editor brings back memories of hectographs, city rooms where I worked, and the Gutenberg-era machinery with which I published a community weekly. The assignment brings me into the contemporary world of publishing and scholarship in a most pragmatic way. Even the most iconoclastic editors and writers can't ignore their intended audience. For an academic journal, this is especially true. Editors make a difference, but journal editors have little to put on the pages without the contributions of the peer group for whom they toil. *AJ* is nothing without the participation of the community of scholars who share an interest in media history, and we seek that support and reaction. There is no list which excludes or includes particular kinds of research for the pages of *AJ*. Indeed, the AJHA report on doctoral education in media history in this issue underscores this. Individually, the essays are thoughtful, useful and stimulating. Taken collectively, the newcomer may be bewildered because of the diversity of directions and the complexity underlying that diversity. If so, we would urge taking it all in small doses. What the authors do say, from our reading, is that both the old and new are in style here. The constant is quality. Although the newer approaches to history are changing the field, the traditional historical approach is not thereby made obsolete. Much is to be done, or redone, for instance, in biography and institutional history. *AJ* is open to the variety of approaches suggested by the essayists, as well as others they haven't explored. Our reviewers are told only to look for good work in our field.

Happily, we do not start from scratch. Over the past decade, the editors emeriti of *AJ* – Professors Whitby, Sloan and Pauly – have built a respected and well-read publication. My university has the

contemporary equivalent of the hectograph for the technical side of publishing the journal. (Computers are much cleaner than hectographs, but not without their own frustrations.) Our goal is to continue the tradition of excellence established by the first three editors; our vision is to make *AJ* the first place scholars turn to to display their research, and the first publication they read in keeping up with the latest and best written about media history.

So, let us begin.

&etc.&etc.&etc.&etc.&etc.

THIS ISSUE marks the end of Nancy Robert's tour as book review editor, a task which has more details connected to it than a NASA launch. A tip of the *AJ* hat to Professor Roberts. Her successor is Thomas Connery of the University of St. Thomas, an institution also found in the Great North Outback of the United States....**A SPECIAL ISSUE** OF *AJ* under the title, "World War II and the Mass Media," is in the works. It will be published sometime in 1995, marking the fiftieth anniverary of the end of that "good" but awful conflict. Manuscripts on any aspect of the media during the war are sought. We plan several invited essays on the historiography of the period (and invite your suggestions in that regard). Deadline for manuscripts for this issue will be September 30, 1994.....

FOR THOSE WHO ARE trying to fit this issue in proper order with others in their *AJ* collection, some guidance. The immediate past editor, John Pauly, late of Tulsa University, now at Saint Louis University, will issue Volume 9 and Numbers 1 and 2 of Volume 10. So, you will eventually have all that you are entitled to as member or subscriber...**OUR RESEARCH MANUSCRIPT PILE** is at low tide as this is written. The editorial purpose and requirements for *AJ* are detailed on the inside covers. We invite your submissions. We also need research essays (only one in sight just now) and anything else you might like to offer. We contemplate adding a bibliography section, but won't undertake it unless (a) there is interest in such a section and (b) someone applies to be Bibliography Section Editor... **THE FOURTEENTH EDITION** of the *Chicago Manual of Style* is now at your neighborhood bookstore. A page turner it isn't, but it's what we use...**IN RESPONSE TO A QUERY** as to whether *AJ* will consider the use of illustrations, the answer is yes. Suggest this when you submit a manuscript , if you wish...**SELECTED BACK ISSUES of AJ** are available. They include: Volume 7, Number 1, Winter 1990; Volume 7, Number 2, Spring, 1990; Volume 7, Number 4, Fall, 1990; Volume 8, Number 1, Winter, 1991; Volume 8, Number 2, Spring/Summer 1991; Volume 8, Number 4, Fall, 1991. The cost is $5 per issue for addresses in the United States, $7.50 overseas. Send your needs and check to the editor, made out to the AJHA....**EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBERS** who have recently reviewed manuscripts for *AJ* include: Robert Spellman, Southern Illinois; James Boylan, Massachusetts; Sharon Bass, Kansas; Peggy Kreshel, Georgia; Jack Lule, Lehigh; Patricia Bradley, Temple. We are grateful for their work.

Doctoral Programs in Media History: An AJHA Committee Report

Introduction

David R. Cassady, Pacific University, Committee Chair

Media history was a rapidly growing and evolving discipline in the 1980s as evinced, in part, by the development of both the American Journalism Historians Association and the History Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. The growth was also shown by the development of Ph. D.-level graduate programs in media history at a number of major universities.

While the expansion of graduate programs has increased both the quantity and quality of media history study being conducted, there has been a noticeable lack of discussion over what these graduate programs should include. There has been no philosophical blueprint similar to the guidelines provided by accrediting organizations in other areas of study such as news-editorial, advertising, broadcasting, and other areas, as to what should be included in doctoral programs in media history.

It was that uncertainty that spawned this project. In 1989, the education committee of the AJHA was asked to conduct a survey of its membership and identify, in some manner, what a graduate program in media history should include. Two surveys were conducted, one of AJHA members and another of directors of graduate programs at thirty-one universities offering doctoral study in the mass media.

What emerged was a wide diversity of opinion on what such programs should include, ranging from a broad liberal arts approach that included minimal study in media history per se to much more focused approaches that centered on media history.

One thing was evident. While many people had not given the subject considerable thought, there was a solid group of scholars who had been dealing seriously with the basic questions: What should future media history scholars be exposed to in their graduate programs? What was valuable and what was necessary?

What emerged as an answer to these questions was a clear sense that four major areas were important: study in media history including exposure to a wide spectrum of thought and experience; a solid grounding in historiography including both the historiography of media history and general historiography; exposure to and experience in a wide variety of methodological approaches

including both quantitative and qualitative; and significant work in other, non-media historical (and non-historical) areas.

Many responding to the survey suggested that media historians be broadly educated in the media and outside it. They suggested that media historians concentrate on being excellent historians as much as concentrating on the study of the media itself in an effort to upgrade both the quality and the image of media history.

What evolved from studying the data from the surveys was the realization of the need for serious philosophical discussion on the content and construct of media history as a discipline and a forum for that discussion.

The following articles are a starting point for that discussion. Five media history scholars who have done recent work and writing on various aspects of the profession of media history were asked to provide philosophical essays outlining some aspect of media history study.

W. David Sloan of the University of Alabama provides an introductory overview in his essay arguing the importance of studying media history, not just for its own sake, but also as an important component in the general history of America.

Maurine Beasley and graduate student Douglas Ward of the University of Maryland address the question of the media history component of a graduate program. They point to the need for an exposure to a much broader concept of media history than has been present in the past.

James Startt of Valparaiso University outlines general historiography concepts and discusses why their study is important to media historians.

David Paul Nord of Indiana University provides an overview of historical research methodologies and discusses the need for all media historians to be familiar with a wide variety of methodologies in order to gain a greater appreciation for the diversity of historical study.

And Richard Kielbowicz of the University of Washington addresses the importance of the study of non-media areas, historical and non-historical, that should be of particular concern and importance to media historians.

What emerged is not a model curriculum or a firm set of guidelines of what a media history doctoral program should include. It was obvious early in the project that this approach would be counterproductive because of the wide diversity of opinion on the subject. These articles represent considered thought on the subject by five scholars who are members of AJHA. We hope their work will generate further discussion on the subject.

I. "Why Study History?"

W. David Sloan, Alabama

"What's the value of studying history?"

That's the question that a communication professor, in a recent roundtable discussion before a group of graduate students, posed to one of his colleagues. It was not, as one would think, a rhetorical question. It instead expressed the doubts that many behavioral and social-science oriented professors in this field of mass communication have.

The answer to the professor could have been as simple as a suggestion to visit a class in a local city school, where some seventh graders might be asking the same question. Most of them eventually would recognize, however, the importance of history. A more pertinent question than the doubting professor's might be, why among educated professors of communication is there such a failure to recognize what civilized people have recognized for centuries?

If we took the question seriously, as we in media history should–not because the doubt has merit but because history is of central importance to humanity's body of knowledge–we could say that the study of media history is important for the same reasons that the study of any kind of history is. Among the various methods of studying mass communication, none has the long tradition that belongs to history. History has been a major form of study for more than 2,000 years, ever since Herodotus wrote his *History of the Greek and Persian War*. In explaining his purpose, he used the Greek word for "research" that came to be used as our designation of history. "This," he wrote, "is an account of the researches [*historia*] of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, which he publishes, in the hope of preserving form decay the remembrance of what men have done..." Among the various disciplines for the study of mass communication, likewise, historical research is the oldest. Isaiah Thomas wrote *The History of Printing in America* a century before schools for education in journalism were established, and in the first half-century of the life of those schools the study of history was unequaled as a form of inquiry. Thus, media historians just as properly could expect their behavioral and social-science colleagues to justify their studies to the rest of us. Such a pert response, while certainly defensible, nevertheless would not comprise the entire answer to the question. Surely, a question about the value of history when asked honestly merits a serious reply.

The fact, however, that the question sometimes is asked from either ignorance or condescension–with the latter normally resulting from the former–raises the necessity of examining why in mass communication education we have reached the point that a considerable number of professors are so poorly informed about history and its value. One would think that if they had not picked up such knowledge in the elementary grades, they would have learned it

before completing college. Let us admit, however, that there are some people who never grasp the importance of history or never develop an interest in it. We recognize that interests vary and that history does not hold a commanding appeal to all of our colleagues, just as some of our social and behavioral science friends recognize that their particular interests are not essential for everyone else. The narrow attachment to social and behavioral sciences that dominates much of research and graduate education in mass communication appeared only in the last quarter century. A brief historical familiarity with that development is useful in understanding the issues that today are involved when someone asks the question "Why study history?"

In the first half of the twentieth century, mass communication (primarily journalism) education and research both focused on practical skills and the liberal arts and humanities. History especially was favored. The hard sciences, however, were providing the models for research elsewhere; and many other disciplines began to draw on those principles. Researchers in the social and behavioral sciences thought to improve the reliability and respectability of their soft-science methods by emulating "real" science. Since scientific research, the thinking went, was the only truly adequate scholarship, those fields that did not adopt it were to be abandoned; if they refused, they were to be tolerated only as second class. Some historians attempted to make their discipline a science, so-called. Others recognized what the scientists failed to – that historical research possessed a set of methods and principles that had developed coherently over generations of practice, and that it was the only methodology that allowed contemporary researchers to study the past adequately. For achieving the purpose that it was intended, historical research was the only usable means. Scientific methodology was appropriate to study the problems of science, but it could not substitute for historical method as a means of examining the past.

As the social and behavioral sciences began to make inroads in communication education, however, media historians were not well prepared to defend their ground. It was World War II that gave the first major impetus to theoretical research in mass communication based in the social and behavioral sciences. Allied researchers were interested in the effects of propaganda, how Axis propaganda could be stymied, and how Allied propaganda could be made more effectual. That interest later was picked up by journalism professors inclined toward theoretical study. Theory-based research offered intellectual challenges and a means of gaining respectability for journalism professors in a university enviroment that previously has been none too kind to mere skills teachers. Furthermore, since such research – unlike the skills-oriented work that most teachers were doing – required academic study, the doctoral programs that developed after the war emphasized theoretical subjects and the methods of the social and behavioral sciences. The eventual result was that most professors who taught in doctoral programs had been trained in those areas. Thus, they came to dominate, they designed programs with a theoretical and social/behavioral-science core, and most doctoral students in successive generations specialized in those areas. It was the classic snowball effect.

Not surprisingly, there were a few holdouts. Dissatisfied with the social and behavioral sciences for any of a variety of reasons, they gravitated into areas that they found more personally satisfying. The soft scientists suspected that the recalcitrants were dropouts unable to handle the rigors of real research. That suspicion failed to recognize that historical research, when practiced correctly, demands as much rigor as does its scientific counterparts and, in many instances, more discipline and imagination. Unfortunately, for media history,

the theoreticians' suspicions about some "historians" were true. Many were dropouts. When they moved to other fields of study, they made no determined effort to master them. Not trained in the rigorous demands of historical research, those who sought refuge in history failed to develop as historians. They never realized that historical research is often more time-consuming and requires more thoroughness than research of any other type. They assumed that historical research consisted simply of doing some reading and then drawing some conclusions. In that, they could find many sympathetic ears from the field loosely identified as qualitative methods, but they failed to master the systematic and rigorous methods required of true historical study.

Their colleagues who studied communication as social and behavioral sciences took them, however, to be representative of historians and mistook their qualitative methodology for historical research. When one considers how imprecise qualitative methods are and how superficial much of the research was that passed for "history," it is not surprising that the soft scientists were a little more than quizzical about what these quasi-historians were doing. One does not wonder that they questioned why any serious scholar or student should study history.

The real issues involved in the value of studying history arise, however, not from the methodological shortcomings of some of its practicioners, but from what history has to offer when it is practiced proprerly, as it has been by thousands of scholars. When done according to accepted principles, history takes on an enormous value. As to the question of why study media history, we can begin by reciting the reasons that the study of any type of history is valuable. Media history as one branch of historical study offers the same benefits as all other areas. Very broadly and most fundamentally, we can state that the past has intrinsic value in itself and a strong appeal to a large proportion of human beings living today.

Historical study provides the opportunity to inform later generations about the nature of humankind and behavior; it contributes to the authentic record of human experience. The primary goal of historians, therefore, is to explain particular things of the past fully and truthfully. In doing so, they seek to capture the thought and feeling of a time past as they are associated with a particular problem under investigation. Historical study would need no further justification than that. One might as well be obligated to justify humankind's interest in art or its continuing search for knowledge. If there is value in studying the past, then that fact, furthermore, automatically justifies historical research methods, for they provide the only way of recapturing, as it were, the past as it actually occurred.

The study of history has, however, other values as well. It provides information important for identity and background. It helps us to know ourselves both individually and collectively, and it provides knowledge valuable in helping us to understand people and the world around us. Although we may assume that particular events that occurred in the past will never recur in exactly the same way, we also know that an understanding of them will help us to deal with similar events in the future. Whether we are considering wars or social movements or any other major topic, we can be certain that a knowledge of them and the answers to the questions they raised serve a purpose of anyone who hopes to be an informed and responsible person today.

More generally, we can state that at the academic level the study of history provides an efficacious means of intellectual stimulation and satisfaction. Because historical research requires the full range of rigor, critical thinking,

mature judgment, analytical ability, and imagination, relying greatly on the historian's own powers rather than on scientific or mathematical formulas, it is unsurpassed among scholarly disciplines in exercising the mind.

Even though the study of media history can be justified from these general reasons, the distinctive nature of mass communication as a field of study and professional practice also offers reasons for studying its history. In such a field, a knowledge of history provides a broader perspective than one gets from simply studying the tools of the trade. For that reason alone, it bears serious study. Among the panoply of other values that one might recite, here are examples:

*History helps us to understand the present through knowledge of how the present came to be.

*It provides comparisons that help us to assess and evaluate the present.

*It provides, for the craft-oriented, insight into how professional practices can be done well.

*It sharpens critical thinking about the operation of media today.

Assured that there are not only justifiable reasons that we need to study media history, but essential ones as well, we may turn to the question of what should constitute a reasonable program of study for students of history at the doctoral level. This question is of special importance since it is doctoral students who soon will assume the mantle of responsibility for presenting history to the next generation of communication professors and students. It also is a provocative question because the approaches to designing a program vary greatly from school to school. There is, it is safe to say, no single, particular model to guide schools or students in laying out a program. Programs run the gamut. A few allow students to concentrate a majority of their courses in history, and at some schools students are aggressively discouraged from studying history. Some schools' media history "specializations" consist of a handful of courses, comprising one-fourth or less of a student's entire course of study; some must be cooked up from a goulash of general communication courses and independent study. Students from such programs may find that, in order to develop as good historians, they may have to rely on self-education. Schools that allow students to design programs concentrating almost completely on history are the exception.

A fully developed program of study clearly is the best, but whether a student is allowed to take only a few courses or devote an entire program to the study of history, there are certain types of knowledge and abilities that should be cultivated. They fit into the following categories:

1. *A knowledge of the general field of media history and the body of literature on it.*

In its barest form, this consists of facts, dates, names, events, and so forth that comprise the essential substance of history. A future historian needs to know, for example, whether the era of the penny press preceded or followed the age of yellow journalism. In gaining that knowledge, the student should avoid relying on one historian as the source, but should be familiar with the wide range of narratives and explanations that a variety of historians have given. Reliance on one historian, whose discussion of history is bound to be influenced by his or her particular perspective, results in a narrow view. As a starting point, a student should read several of the general histories that have been writtten on media history, from Isaiah Thomas' to those that are being published today. These should be supplemented with readings in articles and books on

specialized topics. Awareness of bibliographies and other overviews of historical writing is essential.

2. *A mastery of historical research methods.*

The student should read several standard works such as Barzun and Graff's *The Modern Researcher* and works on historical methodology in mass communication. They should be supplemented with the study of monographs on historiographical subjects relevant to the student's field of interest. The point is to gain a thorough appreciation of the rigorous principles and practices employed in the study of history. The student should know, for example, the simple matter of the difference between primary and secondary sources and between internal and external criticism in evaluating them. As part of a program, the student should perform his or her own research with the intent of developing rigor, discipline, and thoroughness, under the guidance of a mentor who can be demanding and unrelenting if necessary.

3. *A knowledge of American or other relevant fields of history.*

Study in other areas is important because (a) the media's past usually was associated with broader surroundings, and a knowledge of those surroundings helps the historian better understand the media, and (b) study in academic departments of history helps immerse students in the historical discipline more thoroughly than can usually be done in communication or journalism departments. Media history students need to think of themselves as historians rather than communicologists. Making the transformation can be achieved more effectively with help form professional historians.

4. *Study of the general field of mass communication.*

At some point in one's education, a media historian must gain a knowledge of that field he or she intends to study. That knowledge could be gained through study at the bachelor or master's level or through professional work, but at the doctoral level some students may find it useful to do some study in such areas as communication theory and research methodology for the social and behavioral sciences. Many schools already emphasize those areas, however, some media historians are now prone to think that they must serve as the core of doctoral study. One should be careful of the danger of that thinking. The only effective way to study media history is through historiographical practices. General communication approaches can serve only as supplementary devices. To be competent media historians, students must become, first, historians rather than communicologists who happen to be interested in history.

When the varieties of knowledge and abilities are combined, the goal of a doctoral program should be, simply stated, for a student to develop as an accomplished historian.

Once that happens, the quizzical inquiry, "Why study history?" will lose its force. Good media historians will demonstrate by the quality of their work that history has a critical role to play in the study of mass communication. When the historians of the next generation do their job well, their non-history colleagues may very well be asking why all communication students are not required to study history.

II. What Should a Ph. D. Student in Media History Study?

Maurine Beasley and Douglas Ward
University of Maryland

Is there a clear-cut answer to the question of what the Ph.D. student in media history should study? Before we tackle that problem, we need to ask whether there is such a field as media history. Does it exist today as a distinct discipline within journalism/mass communications education?

Certainly, its origins lie in the field of journalism history taught as part of journalism education. Its founding fathers – a factually correct term because there is no record of women setting up pioneer courses – were quite clear about what they intended to do. For example, in the preface to his 1927 book, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism*, Willard G. Bleyer, credited with making the University of Wisconsin journalism program one of the best in the world, said simply, "In order to understand the present-day American newspaper and its problems, it is necessary to know something of the influences that have shaped the course of the press since its inception. This book undertakes to furnish an historical background sufficient for an intelligent understanding of the American newspaper of today."[1] In early journalism education, the history of newspapers and biographies of well-known editors played a key role in the curriculum. This was not surprising since preparation for newspaper work constituted the mission of journalism education.

Obviously, newspaper training is no longer the sole goal. Today only about 12 percent of journalism/mass communications graduates find jobs on newspapers or wire services after graduation, and some 60 percent do not enter traditional communications related occupations after getting their diplomas.[2] These statistics indicate that the field is changing, perhaps by default based on a weak economy, from a professional to a broad media studies focus. This does not mean that students do not profit from history courses. On the contrary, as this occurs, media history becomes, or should become, a vital part of the liberal arts component of a journalism/mass communication degree.

Over the years the scope of journalism history courses has changed in many institutions. To some degree this occured when many journalism schools expanded into colleges of communications, teaching a variety of communications-related subjects. At that point journalism history, or press

1. Willard G. Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927), iii.
2. *'91 Facts About Newspapers* (Reston, Va.: The American Newspaper Publishers Association, 1991), 15.

history as it was traditionally taught, began to evolve into the history of mass communications. Yet the evolution, which continues today as history classes change into media studies courses, has presented practical and conceptual problems.

If we look back on the scholars who once dominated journalism history, we view their conceptualization of the subject as limited. For instance, Frank Luther Mott, the Pulitzer-Prize winning dean of the University of Missouri School of Journalism, who was long known as the leading journalism history scholar, offered three rationales for studying the field: One, to establish the "rightness of the record," two, to enjoy learning about "the quaint and the strange," and three, to obtain help "in understanding present problems and [to seek] guidance in facing the future."[3]

Few would advance the first two as reasons for studying media history today. Little interest exists in antiquarian history that studies the past simply for its own sake and pursuit of "the quaint and the strange" seems trivial. As for the third point, current understanding of history teaches us the difficulty of making direct comparisons between the present and the past. While we believe that historical understanding helps us grasp key ideas in the evolution of journalism, we no longer view history as an absolute guide for the future. But we still want it to prove itself to us as relevant - relevant within the curriculum and relevant to us as individual scholars.

As has been noted, in terms of journalism/mass communications education, history – and newspapers – left center stage years ago. A student preparing to be a media historian should understand that history, tied as it was to the development of the press, lost out as a key element in the curriculum when news-editorial sequences declined in importance relative to other areas of mass communication – broadcasting, public relations, advertising. By 1980 it became evident that more students were choosing to study public relations and advertising, while fewer were sticking with news-editorial courses.[4] By that point forms of scholarship other than history had become the core of the theoretical curriculum. These involved the application of social science techniques to measurement of public opinion and persuasive communication. With emphasis on quantitative methodology, these offerings were better attuned to educating advertising and public relations practitioners than traditional journalists. To some extent history courses were pushed aside in favor of coursework in mass communications or additional skills courses. Those that remained were subjects of endless debate as instructors attempted to revise them to fit changing times.

Faced with such a situation, the question today becomes one of whether a student should be encouraged to carve out a career as a media historian. What is the place for history within contemporary journalism/mass communications programs? Should there be more Ph.D. programs that concentrate on media history? Our answer is a loud but qualified "yes." Media history today calls for visionary scholarship. Preparation for it frustrates the faint-hearted or the student who wants to travel a well-marked road. No more is it a straightforward chronicle of newspapers or of the journalism profession.

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3. Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History: 1690-1960* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1962), vii.
4. Paul V. Peterson, "J-School Enrollments Reach Record 71, 594," *Journalism Education* 34 (January 1980): 3.

Traditional journalism history stressed the role of the newspaper in democratic decision-making. This perspective was allied with the themes of consensus and community, which have been identified as the dominant values in American historical writing in general until the 1960s.[5] As we know, in the social upheaval that saw the Vietnam war protests, the civil rights movement and women's liberation, scholarship in American history changed. The field became more fragmented, more interested in the history of ordinary individuals and less concerned with the powerful. Yet questions of consensus and community remain important in American history just as does the relationship of mass communications to the democratic process in media history.

Not surprisingly, traditional journalism history came under attack after American history shifted dramatically. James W. Carey, dean of the college of communications at the University of Illinois, argued in 1974 for a broad cultural approach to journalism history. He contended that the prevailing paradigm of the field, one in which the press was seen as progressing within the bounds of industrialization, urbanization and mass democracy, was worn out.[6] A decade later, Carey expressed his belief in the importance of reinvigorated historical study in journalism. As he put it, "To study journalism history is another way of developing an adequate understanding of one's own country, a way of grasping the society and culture in which one's life and destiny are implicated. Seen and taught in that way, journalism history is an immensely practical subject."[7]

It also represents the kind of coursework that establishes media history as a discipline with scholarly credentials. Many would argue that such courses not only should be offered, but should be required, within the journalism/mass communications curriculum. This should be the case particularly as journalism/mass communications programs move away from a trade school orientation and offer degrees more steeped in the liberal arts tradition.

Yet how does one prepare to grasp society and culture? On the face of it, such a task seems overwhelming – if not impossible. The perimeters of the discipline of media history defy simple classification. As has been pointed out in other essays in this book, the media historian ideally should be as well acquainted with the field of mass communications as with the field of history. Each area, however, contains vast reservoirs of scholarship. Mass communications research draws from the domains of sociology, political science and psychology. History itself contains dozens of subspecialties, many of which provide ways of studying the media.

How then is a student to prepare to become a media historian? There are no set standards. Formal programs differ greatly by institution. A survey conducted by the American Journalism Historians Association found that respondents reported on individual experiences, describing the programs at their universitites or the programs they had gone through. Because programs vary so widely, they offer a great amount of flexibility. This can be a tremendous advantage to a creative, mature student, who recognizes the need for coursework in both mass communications and history. But it also can be a frustrating business, both for students and faculty mentors, as students try to assemble

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5. Michael Kammen, ed., *The Past Before Us* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980), 19-22.
6. James W. Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," *Journalism History* 1 (1974): 3-4.
7. " 'Putting the World at Peril': A Conversation with James W. Carey," *Journalism History* 12 (Summer 1985): 44.

coherent combinations of classes, often outside the journalism/mass communications field. At this point students need to look at their academic backgrounds closely. In what areas do they need to strengthen their knowledge? Carey, although speaking of undergraduate work, offered valuable advice in this regard: "The only restriction on people is that they don't have time to learn everything, so choices must be made. But that dilemma suggests a sound basic education as the key to keeping an open and fertile mind, one not bogged down in detail and routine, as the conditions of lifetime learning."[8]

This basic education should include knowledge of the development of schools of journalism and mass communication education. Students need to realize that these still are controversial institutions. Academics, as well as practitioners, continue to argue over their merits and whether journalism should be studied in conjunction with the broader area of mass communication.[9] Students, guided by their mentors, must provide their own answers to the question of the viability of journalism/mass communications education before they can concentrate on carving out places for themselves. Each student needs to answer for himself or herself the question of just what is a journalism/mass communications scholar with a specialty in media history and why he or she should be interested in being one. Especially is this the case when journalists continue to bash academics for being so immersed in the esoteria of scholarship that they forget the fundamentals of journalism.

Only then are students ready to move on to the next question: What is the aim of historical scholarship? Even if students have majored in history as undergraduates, they may be perplexed when they began to do research. How hard it is for them to realize that mastery of "facts" now is not considered as important as the more nebulous pursuit of "ideas" and "understanding."

Students with a journalistic background may have an even harder time than other students with this pursuit. Much of what historians do is to gather information, using methods that resemble reportorial techniques. Those trained as journalists have little difficulty with this. What's harder than assembling information, however, is learning to think like a historian. Transforming educational mindset from concentration on simple answers – those indisputable "facts" – into a new way of thinking that inspires an endless number of complex questions is the hardest thing that any doctoral student must learn. Rarely is there an epiphany; rather, there's a slow assimilation.

This is not something that comes about with a single class, but it's something that needs to be discussed, because new ways of thinking can be frustrating, disconcerting, even depressing. What makes a topic significant? Why is antiquarian history brushed aside? Why does social science research tend to focus on smaller pieces of knowledge, while historical research aims at the larger meanings of events? Must everything presented have a larger significance? Isn't the fact that something is interesting (to the student at least) enough justification for study? Why is quality scholarship expected to be developed through a rigorous program of study, but teaching to somehow flow easily and naturally from a process of learning? Why aren't students taught to teach in a formal way? It is only as students grapple with these questions that they can find their way clear to becoming media historians.

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8. " 'Putting the World at Peril,' ..." 44.
9. Howard M. Ziff, "The Closing of the Journalistic Mind," *Columbia Journalism Review* (January/February 1992): 49-52.

As Nord states in another essay in this report, courses in general history should make up a significant component of a doctoral student's work, as should methods. Specialty in a period, say colonial America, makes sense. Students also could fruitfully consider such areas as bibliographic techniques, qualitative methods, anthropology, cultural studies, the history of technology and the history of the First Amendment. Historiography is important, along with discussion of the synthesis of general history and media history.

Feminist theory should not be overlooked. Feminist scholars have provided some of the most thought-provoking criticism of media history. It was the late Catherine Covert of Syracuse University, who called for a new type of journalism history – one to be written from the perspective of the "losers," not "the winners," in American society.[10] As Susan Henry has pointed out, Covert noted the high values that male journalism historians put on journalistic power and autonomy – values at odds with the experience of women in journalism.[11]

By studying women's culture in relationship to mass communications, we can enlarge our understanding of media history.[12] Although most have not held powerful positions, women have participated in American journalism since colonial times in spite of widespread prejudice against them.[13] If we borrow concepts from women's history to look at journalism in terms of community-building, not conflict, we find a new vision of the media history emerging.[14] A feminist examination of community journalism, an area overlooked by journalism historians, also includes attention to minority publications, which traditionally have been seen as unimportant because they voiced views outside the mainstream.

Women today constitute more than 60 percent of the bachelor's and master's degree recipients in journalism and mass communications, although doctoral programs remain predominantly male in enrollment.[15] Certainly those preparing to teach media history have a special obligation to familiarize themselves with new concepts in feminist scholarship, if they truly seek to make history relevant to their students. Similarly, doctoral candidates specializing in media history should not overlook study of ethnic and alternative media in light of the fact that minority and international students make up close to 20 percent of the enrollment in journalism and mass communications.[16] Students naturally want, and need, to know how their particular groups have participated historically in the mass communications process.

Aside from a moral imperative to make the media history curriculum more accessible to all students, much can be gained intellectually from pursuing lines of inquiry like feminism that draw on nontraditional constructions of knowledge. As one feminist historian has defined it, "Feminism is a critique of

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10. Catherine L. Covert, "Journalism History and Women's Experience: A Problem in Conceptual Change," *Journalism History* 8 (Spring 1981): 3-4.
11. Susan Henry, "Changing Media History Through Women's History," in Pamela J. Creedon, ed., *Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values* (Newbury Park, Cal.: Sage Publications, 1989), 47.
12. Ibid., 48.
13. Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons, *Women in Media: A Documentary Source Book* (Washington, D.C.: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1977), 1-2.
14. Henry, "Changing Media History Through Women's History," 46.
15. Lee B. Becker, "Annual Enrollment Census: Comparisons and Projections," *Journalism Educator* 46 (Autumn 1991): 56.
16. Ibid., 58.

male supremacy, formed and offered in the light of a will to change it."[17] It offers a way to reconstruct the history of mass communications from the story of the powerful in society to the story of the dissemination of ideas, according to Lauren Kessler, a scholar of the dissident press.[18] If the focus becomes the history of ideas, women and others outside the mainstream suddenly become the core, rather than the margin, of an evolving media history, because, in Kessler's view, "most of the new ideas related to society and culture-building come from outsiders."[19]

Like other areas related to media history, feminist theory can be learned through directed reading. Yet independent study needs to be balanced with seminars and other types of formal coursework. For most students reading alone does not provide the intellectual discoure needed to develop scholarly insight. Like all scholars, media historians must be able to submit to the challenges of their peers, hear the views of others and consider their methods, theories and perspectives.

In addition, the media history scholar needs some introduction to the art of teaching itself. Most, if not all, who seek to be media historians plan to be faculty members. It seems strange that teaching, the central function of the university, is rarely addressed in doctoral programs, either in coursework or formal discussion. Perhaps no subject provides a greater challenge in teaching than media history because the very sweep of the field requires instructors to provide intensive structuring of content to make the subject matter accessible to students. Doctoral students deserve mentoring in teaching as well as in research.

To conclude, Ph.D. students in media history should be prepared to think critically about the relationship of their specialty to journalism and mass communication education in general. They should be competent scholars in history as well as in mass communications. They should know the evolution of their own subject and be able to defend its postition in the curriculum. They should be aware of various theoretical perspectives. They should have insight into the teaching process. They should be self-confident scholars convinced of the importance of learning and teaching media history.

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17. Linda Gordon, "What's New in Women's History," in Teresa de Lauretis, ed., *Feminist Studies: Critical Studies* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1986), 15.
18. Lauren Kessler, "Is the History of Mass Media Inhospitable Terrain for the Study of Women?" (Paper delivered at the American Journalism Historians Association convention, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, October 1990), 5.
19. Ibid.

III. Historiography and the Media Historian

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The study of history, in all of its diversity, can be enriched by a knowledge of historiography. This statement applies to media historians as it does to all historians. Since the word "historiography" has suffered from what Winston Churchill, in reference to another matter, labled "terminological inexactitude," we must first define its meaning in this essay as the history of history and of historians. More specifically it means how the craft of writing and interpreting history has evolved and how historians have approached their work. Immense in scope, it can be traced back to ancient times and across civilizations and cultures. To reduce the subject to manageable boundaries and to address it to our immediate concerns regarding graduate programs in media history, we shall concentrate on American historiography mainly since the time of its professionalization. That will underscore traditions and questions that punctuate historiographical discussion, matters that media historians will want to consider in their own work. Then we shall offer a rationale for the inclusion of general historiography in the training of media historians.

There were, of course, American historians before the professionalization of history in the late nineteenth century. Their activity dates back through the colonial era, and, in the nineteenth century when the craft of history experienced a great flourishing on both sides of the Atlantic, many talented practitioners appeared in this country. Among them were renowned writers such as George Bancroft, Francis Parkman, James Ford Rhodes, and many others including even young Theodore Roosevelt.

Students of historiography cannot afford to overlook the contribution these so-called "amateurs" made to the writing of history. With all of its passion for liberty and nation, and at times for heroic figures, their writing had a powerful appeal that later professional historians would seldom, if ever, match. Francis Parkman, for instance, dramatized history and created compelling profiles of figures such as those of Generals Montcalm and Wolfe at the Battle of Quebec in his *France and England in North America* (13 vols., 1891-1900), and in his *History of the United States from the Discovery of America* (10 vols., 1834-87) George Bancroft offered American history as a monumental, romantic and virtuous national epic. Theodore Roosevelt wrote his *The Winning of the West* (4 vols., 1889-96) as a grand adventure that resulted in the triumph of the nation over sectionalism. These writers reached large audiences, painted history in broad epochal strokes, and based their writing on a scholarship rich in vigor and vision. Nor did they neglect the "story" in "history." They all valued narrative and made it an outstanding feature of their work. To this day, many students of historiography consider Francis Parkman the finest writer of history among American historians. These pre-professional historians won unprecedented importance for history in the United States, and students of history today can

still profit from a study of their work. By the end of the century, however, their leadership of the craft was passing.

A new generation of historians provided leadership for the emerging "professional" historian who replaced the gifted "amateurs" and now gained ascendency in the craft. Unlike many of their predecessors, these historians were products of graduate education and devoted their careers to teaching and writing. They were part of the professionalization movement alive in many fields and scholarly disciplines in this country and Europe during the closing decades of the last century. They emerged in conjunction with the transformation of American higher education symbolized by the opening of Johns Hopkins University in 1876 and its emphasis on graduate study. There, Herbert Baxter Adams conducted his famous history seminar that produced so many of the fine scholars of the emerging generation. Adams was also the architect of the American Historical Association, which formed in 1884 and for which he served as secretary for its first sixteen years. Another Adams, Charles Kendall Adams, produced a *Manual of Historical Literature*, the first professional guidebook for the American historical scholars in 1882. During the next decade, in 1895, some of these historians founded the *American Historical Review*, a publication with such high standards as to make it the equal of the best national and foreign professional journals. J. Franklin Jameson, one of Herbert Baxter Adams's students, was its first editor. Jameson personified the new professional historian. A devotee of the highest critical standards for the writing of history, he was a meticulous scholar and a man of great vigor and determination who, for an entire generation, worked to coordinate and professionalize historical scholarship in this country.

The new professionalism, however, was created by an entire generation of scholars. Between 1904 and 1907, for instance, they produced a twenty-eight volume synthesis of American history, "The American Nation Series," under the editorship of Albert Bushnell Hart. It provided a collective statement of the new professionalism and a collection of particularistic and frequently dry monographs that were in contrast to the majestic scope of histories written by nineteenth-century amateurs. Regardless, the new professionals reflected the great emphasis that science had gained in scholarship.

They shared common ideas about historical scholarship and formed an intellectual community featuring a remarkable ideological homogeneity. By placing great stress on going to original sources and working to develop a critical methodology for dealing with those sources, they sought to produce objective history. The influence of Leopold von Ranke, the great nineteenth-century German historian who is usually considered one of the fathers of modern historical scholarship, can be detected in much of their work. They shared his concentration on sources as well as his aim to write history "as it actually happened." In the process, however, Rankeanism was Americanized.

The founders of professional history in this country accepted his emphasis on making the craft an historical science. But what did they mean by this linking of history and science? They could not have had "science" itself in mind, for scholars at this time were aware of the great strides then being made in the physical and biological sciences that had strictly defined natural phenomena as their objects. By "scientific history," a term they liked to use, the founders referred to an older and looser definition of science. As Dorothy Ross has recently explained, "Baconian empiricism, based on common-sense realism, had early become the dominant method of inquiry in America. For heirs of this tradition, induction from observed facts and skepticism regarding preformed

generalizations seemed the highroad to science."[20] In an age in which the word "science" carried not only the weight of authority but also the promise of progress, "scientific history" was the proper term to convey the idea that professionalized history would be based on the highest standards of historical scholarship. These scientific historians would stress fundamentals such as searching for and scrutinizing sources, advancing carefully examined generalizations, and applying reflective skepticism about all of the subjective and objective aspects of their study. This was the historicism they passed on to ensuing generations of historians. The founders also had an abiding interest in political life and saw history closely allied to the field of politics. This, too, was part of their legacy.[21]

In fact, emerging professionalized history, which had more in common with pre-professional history than is sometimes supposed, embodied a strong political element. While showing little interest in metaphysical speculation about history that attracted a number of European historians and while wishing to separate their work from American romanticized versions of history, the new practitioners tried to project a strong historical realism through their work - thus their references to "scientific" and "objective."[22]

But their interest in facts was not an interest in facts alone, for a strong political purpose was part of their intention. At a time when the American nation was becoming more heterogeneous, they sought to mobilize historical scholarship around an orthodox interpretation of the American past, which attracted them more than subjects in European history. That orthodoxy tended to further national centralization as a main theme of history, as it sought to diminish particularism, reconcile sectional differences, and elevate the soundness of evolving Anglo-Saxon ideas and institutions. Although the work of these historians seemed less partisan and more neutral than the spirited writings of their amateur predecessors, it manifested strong elitist and national prejudices. They wrote, however, with a deep moral commitment to American democratic ideals, and laid the foundations for twentieth-century American historical scholarship.

It must not be imagined that this was a quiescent school of historians. Certain strains of the pre-professional posture continued to appeal to some of them. "Give us the facts and nothing but the facts," complained Woodrow Wilson, "and you will fail to produce a true picture." He claimed that "without the colors your picture is not true... No inventory of items will ever represent the truth... The historian must convey his impressions... needs and imagination quite as much as scholarship, and consummate literary art as much as candor and common honesty."[23] Unlike the most extreme devotees of Rankean historicism, historians like Wilson recognized that history contained elements of both science and art but was wholly neither.

During these pre-World War years there were other rumblings within the orthodoxy. Some practitioners of the craft wished to broaden its focus and

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20. Dorothy Ross, "On the Misunderstanding of Ranke and the Origins of the Historical Profession in America," *Syracuse Scholar* 9 (1988): 40.
21. Ibid., 33.
22. Ibid., 38, and James Westfall Thompson, *A History of Historical Writing*, Vol. 2 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942), 135.
23. Quoted in Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 86. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness in the present essay to this outstanding study.

incorporate more social and economic matter into it. Because of this tendency, it was natural for some historians to seek a closer relationship between history and the social sciences, a tendency that the most determined traditionalists in the craft decried as a dangerous invasion of philosophical, theoretical, and deductive elements into the inductive work of historical objectivism. Regardless, the early framework of professionalized history was beginning to change under pressure from advocates of a "new" history. While not abandoning the ideal of scientific history, they wanted to widen its geographical and subject matter scope and believed that, without having history become a social science itself, some of the current work and ideas of the social scientists might be applicable to history.[24]

The most striking thing about these "New Historians" was the ideological challenge they represented to the older professional orthodoxy. Beyond being more interested in European history and various areas of American history such as intellectual and economic history that their older professional colleagues had little stressed, they began to doubt the previous consensus view of the American past. To them the older historical ideological orthodoxy manifested a conservative political temperament that now was outdated. As Carl Becker, perhaps the most agile intellect among the "New Historians," wrote, "The orthodox method of interpretation, surviving from an age when men feared revolution more than they do now, no longer ministers to the rising demand for social regeneration."[25] The "New Historians" were more interested in "a new freedom," in "social justice," and detected more disruption in the American past than did the traditionalists with their strong belief in continuity. Though they had varying degrees of commitment to this new ideology, these historians, men such as Frederick Jackson Turner, Charles A. Beard, James Harvey Robinson, and Carl Becker can be called "Progressive" as well as "New." With their greater present-mindedness than their older brethren and with their interest in relativism, they rebelled against the claim of the British historian E.A. Freeman, that "History is past politics, and politics are present history."

They were more present-minded than their forebearers. Some classic examples of the insurgency appeared in the years before World War I: Robinson published his *The New History* in 1912; Beard, his *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* in 1913; Becker wrote his provocative essay questioning the distinction between fact and interpretation in 1910; and Turner read his famous essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," at the American Historical Association's Chicago conference in 1893. At this point, the professional orthodoxy, despite the insurgency push toward expansion from within, continued to command commitment and loyalty of most of the craft's practitioners. Most still had faith in the aspirations and many of the principles of the profession's founders. That was before the titanic tragedy of World War I.

The impact of the First World War on American historiography took several forms. During the war many historians wished to use their professional talents to serve the patriotic cause, as did many of their professional colleagues in other fields. They did so in various ways. Some formed a National Board for Historical Service; some lent their talents to the Committee on Public Information and other such agencies that employed history to strengthen the national resolve and Allied unity. Did these historians abandon the detached scientific objectivism so prized by their profession before the war and indulge in

24. James Harvey Robinson, *The New History* (1912: reprint, ed., New York: The Free Press, 1965), 70-100.

25. Quoted in Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 93.

a type of historical propaganda? Critics said they did, while many of those who were actually engaged in the work protested that they had remained faithful to historical truth.

Regardless, the war effort clearly elevated the prewar questioning of the norms of scientific objectivity. In a larger sense, it occasioned a widespread rethinking of the prewar idea of progress that stood behind the belief in historical objectivism as well as behind popular ideas regarding the evolution of political liberalism. The widespread cultural cynicism that appeared in postwar years along with the stimulus that war gave to the hope that American democracy would be mobilized to serve the cause of international idealism introduced a fission into the intellectual temperament of this time that was in contrast to the cultural confidence that marked a decade earlier. Then there was the fact of the war itself. From the early 1920s on, historians debated its causes with a fervor uncommon among them before 1914.

The war also jarred the previous predominant interest that American historians had in their own national past. Now the European past began to attract their increased attention, as did an ever more present-oriented content. The war stimulated an immense public interest in the immediate background of current problems, an interest that continued afterwards and became pronounced in historical writing. During the interwar years, historians revealed a lively commitment to present issues (i.e., the shortcomings of the capitalist system, the New Deal, and the debate over isolationism vs. intervention), and about these issues no agreement existed. Historians on the left argued with those on the right. In fact, a new outlook appeared and grew among scholars in many fields. In physics, science, anthropology, philosophy and other studies, the appeal of the relativist thought grew stronger. Historical consciousness was no exception. Among the professionals, the image of historians as impartial observers of the past weakened as the idea grew that their own condition of time, place, circumstances, and values influenced their interpretations. That sentiment had important champions. In 1931, Carl Becker in his presidential address to the AHA, "Everyman His Own Historian," and Charles A. Beard two years later in his presidential address, "Written History as an Act of Faith," to the same body, delivered two of the most important attacks made to date on the old historical objectivity. Those two addresses remain among the best known and most referred to statements of American historiography.

They did not, however, go unchallenged. Traditionalists warned that historical relativism endangered history by placing it in the service of present-minded persuasions and of utilitarian designs on the past. The most determined antirelativists, like Robert L. Schuyler, who applauded the publication of Herbert Butterfield's *Whig Interpretation of History* in 1931, defended history as the study of "the past for its own sake." Butterfield's book, one of the most significant works by a British historian to influence American historiography, with its hostility to theory and to projecting the present back into the past became, in the words of Gertrude Himmelfarb, the classic critique of the "practical, progressive, judgmental mode of history." Its shorthand label, the "Whig fallacy," has become a term that now refers to "any present-minded or future-minded reading of the past."[26] Accordingly, debate among historians grew not only about past events (e.g., the causes of World War I, the Versailles

26. Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old: Critical Essays and Reappraisals* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987), 179.

Settlement, as well as about strictly American events such as slavery, the Civil War, and reconstruction) but also about methodology and the relationships between past and present. The prewar place of the conservative evolution of democratic institutions, historical continuity, and national synthesis was shaken. The hope for a truly unified national community of scholars fostered by the founders of the profession lost much appeal. Yet, a temperate element prevailed in the debate over history, and most practitioners of the craft in the 1930s agreed that "interpretation" and "synthesis," which the "New" and "Progressive" historians so valued, was legitimate if "the requirements of the scientific method" were applied in reaching conclusions and forming generalizations.[27]

Having held together in the 1930s, despite challenges from within, the rough consensus of opinion about the craft experienced a pronounced revival after the Second World War. The impact of this conflict on the American historical intellect contrasted sharply to that following the 1914-1918 war. The nature of the war itself made the difference. This time there was little room for dissent about causes or for the need to defeat our enemies. Pearl Harbor coupled with awakening awareness of the evils of Nazism and totalitarian aggression left little room for dissent. The war, moreover, even seemed to confirm the association some scholars made in the 1930s between the dangers of historical relativism and the Nazi and Soviet abuse of history.

The experience of many historians during the war tended to enhance their appreciation of people charged with the responsibility of power and those who implemented it. That appreciation continued after the war. Regarding his involvement in writing the semi-official history, *The Army Air Forces in World War II*, Wesley Frank Craven said, "Working as I did with high ranking officers of the AAF who understood our professional problem and gave us tremendous support, I learned to respect the professional soldier for his intelligence and for his patriotism, if I may put it that way."[28] This sympathetic understanding of our leaders and officials at war contrasted sharply to intellectual criticism of those in power that were common after the First World War, and it remained characteristic of much of the post-World War II diplomatic history. Historians such as Julius Pratt, Thomas A. Bailey, and Samuel Flagg Bemis made it a cornerstone of their writing in these years. As Soviet totalitarian imperialism replaced the sins of Nazism and of German and Japanese aggression in the Western mind, they projected that feeling into the early years of the Cold War. History had a role to play in forging the will to resist the new nemesis, and revisionist history regarding either methodology or content appeared unnecesary and unwelcomed. That feeling was in accord with the wide political and intellectual culture of the American people at this time.

Neither the ideological consensus nor the objectivist orthodoxy popular among historians of the 1950s lasted unfettered for long. Multifarious pressures appeared in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s that presented the historical community with its greatest challenge since the start of its professionalization in the 1880s. In the 1960s some historians, who acquired the name of "New Left Historians," appeared as part of the rebellion against authority that characterized radical opinion and culture of that decade. Although more heterogeneous than normally

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27. William C. Binkley, "Two World Wars and American Historical Scholarship," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 33 (June 1946): 12.
28. Wesley Frank Cravin to Ronald Schaffer, 27 Sept. 1977, in Ronald Schaffer, *Wings of Judgment: American Bombing in World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 253.

supposed, they were natural ideological opponents of orthodox historians with their establishmentarian inclination. The "New Left Historians," like Eugene Genovese and Staughton Lynd, were critical of many facets of American life and challenged fundamental premises of orthodox historians, including that of historical objectivity itself. A serious polarization ensued in the historical community as the traditionalists charged these "New Left" or radical historians with abandoning scholarly neutrality and being too partisan, presentist, and predetermined in their writing. Thus, the Cold War, once a subject of historical consensus, became a subject of sharp and at times intemperate debate. Not until the 1970s did cooler minds prevail in both camps. A general inclination toward a more centralist, "post-revisionalist," theme and temper then began to appear in writings on the subject.

Still, that controversy, which embittered the professional relations of many historians, can be seen in retrospect being played out against a backdrop composed of an assortment of issues that threatened the orthodox mainstream of history. The sub-field of social history, which radical historians found inviting, gained in appeal and challenged the traditional mainstream of the discipline with its strong political and diplomatic currents. Some members of the craft believed it had reached a point of dominance of the mainstream.

A number of other growing particularist sub-divisions of history, such as black history and women's history, each with its own agenda, weakened commitment to the traditional mainstream interests. Intellectual history held the prime attention of some; public history, of others. In the decades following the hottest years of the Cold War, interest among historians grew in various foreign fields of history, a direct reflection of the post-modern internationalization of American culture. The presentist tendency in historical scholarship continued and once again it was commonplace to hear references to historians "escaping to the present." The pull of social science, especially with the growing popularity of quanto-history and psycho-history, grew in strength, and classic argument over the question of whether history was a humanities or a social science was renewed. The fact that history as science failed to replace traditional history seemed lost on devotees of history as a social science. Of all the attacks on orthodox history, however, none hit deeper than that of Hayden White, who in his *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination of Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1973) argued that the rhetoric of history was simply mere linguistic invention and that the narrative core in traditional history contained important fictive elements.

Impossible as it is to deny the seriousness of these challenges to traditional principles of history, the latter perseveres in the work and attitude of most American historians.[29] The traditional core has expanded, of course, but not beyond recognition. Belief that a reasonable degree of objectivity is

29. Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old*, 173; Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 612; Oscar Handlin, *Truth in History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1981), 106; and Boyd C. Shafer, et al; *Historical Study in the West* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968), 221-24. As evidence of the continuing tendency toward synthesis in history, see Robert William Fogel and G.E. Elton, *Which Road to the Past? Two Views of History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983). This volume presents a debate between two distinguished historians, one an outstanding champion of the new scientific (i.e., "cliometric") history; the other, a stalwart traditionalist. Although they differ on many points, they both acknowledge that history is an evolving discipline with a remarkable capacity to absorb some of the best elements of both the scientific and humanistic traditions.

achievable, that a properly designed and controlled narrative element belongs in history and can communicate truth so far as it is known, and that research should be controlled by inductive inquiry into sources rather than by theory represents a continuum of consensus about the craft that can be traced back to the 1880s. Is history an art or science? The venerable answer that it is neither though it involves elements of both still seems a reasonable one to most historians. It remains, however, an uncomfortable professional premise both for extreme relativists and for those who would have the discipline become a social science.

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Let us proceed now to the question: Why should media historians be interested in historiography in general? In answering that question, we shall assume that they come from a variety of disciplines, including history itself, at the undergraduate level, and have not been exposed to systematic instruction in the subject – though there will always be exceptions to that statement. Three broad answers can be suggested.

1. First of all, historiography affords a commentary on history that should inform any sophisticated probe into the subject. It systematically organizes interpretations of the substance of history, and provides a framework for understanding those interpretations. Media historians need to be aware of that framework in their own research, writing, and teaching. When writing about World War I, for instance, they need to know about the debate among historians regarding its origins and meaning and about the ongoing significance that debate has had in American and Western culture. The same could be said, of course, for all important issues and events in history. Why have such debates proceeded in the manner they have? What can these debates tell us about the nature of an historical fact (i.e., data with extended meaning)? What can they tell us about the national and professional cultures reflected in them? What do they tell us about the meaning of the past to the present? The study of historiography helps all historians to answer such questions.

2. A second answer is pedagogical. As practitioners of a particular field of history, media historians have much to learn from the methological questions that have been developed and debated within historiography for generations, indeed, for centuries going back to ancient times. The debate has never been richer than it has been since the time of the professionalization of history. Is history objective, and if so, how is that objectivity achieved? Why are the rules of evidence so important to the craft? Why are considerations of narrative and audience so important to so many historians? Are there laws, general causes, and patterns in history?

If there are not, as most historians claim, then why do some historians continue to insist that history is a social science.? Perhaps the reason is that they are attracted to social history and find social science models, theories, and statistical proofs useful in their inquiries. But social history is a fragmented field composed of diverse focuses (e.g., classes, ethnic groups, communities, work, leisure, madness, family, childhood, crime, sexuality, and so on). If it replaces political history what will become of the coherence and unity that traditional history aspires to achieve? Yet, should not historians want a synthesis of subject broad enough to include social, intellectual, comparative, and many other well-established elements? Should it not include new methodologies where applicable? But is there not much lasting value in the traditional synthesis that deserves to be retained? How can these various scholarly interests be resolved for the public good? There is a growing interest

today in historiographic unification, and steps are being taken toward achieving it.[30] Media historians should play a role in this movement.

Or, consider that bugbear of historical scholarship, the "Whig fallacy." Have historians gone too far in an effort to avoid it and removed the hope of progress from present perceptions of the past, present, and future? Or, as Robert Nisbet suggests, is there yet room for the idea of progress in the post-Enlightnement and postmodernist Western world? Such questions among historians seem to have their own life, and media historians who address them will find a study of this facet of historiography to be rich in meaning as they seek knowledge of self and subject.

3. A final suggestion deals with media history's relation to general history. As authorities on a special field of history, will media historians resist being a part of the larger orbit of the discipline? That hardly seems either a desired or productive direction to take. The mass media have been so great a part of modern history that the latter cannot be comprehended with the scope and truth it deserves without the inclusion of the former. Nor will media history ever achieve the excellence and recognition it deserves unless it is informed by the broader historical contextuality in which it exits. The question is: How can the integration of the two be accomplished? It seems reasonable to hope that the more specialized and far younger by centuries of the two will endeavor to engage the larger and longer established historical community. The latter, in all fairness, needs to be more receptive to that engagement than it has been in the past.

Knowledge of general historiography should facilitate that integration. Time devoted to acquiring that knowledge would be time well spent. It should lead media historians to a richer understanding of their own area of historical interest, and it should help to build a common dialogue and constructive professional interaction between themselves and historians in general. The results should be reciprocal and should improve the quality of history on both sides of the exchange. All historians are interested in preserving and raising the excellence of history, as they know it and as they might come to know it. For that reason, it just might be that one of the greatest challenges media historians will encounter in their professional education will be the need to acquire a general historiographical consciousness.

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30. As an example of this movement it is interesting to note that the Program Committee for the American Historical Association's annual convention in 1992 encouraged "proposals addressed to the theme of unification within historiography and the historical profession; approaches to a new synthesis incorporating ethnic and gendered history, comparative history, new methodologies, and new concepts of periodization." The AHA is the one association that represents all historians, and scholars from other disciplines are invited to participate in its conventions. "1992 AHA Call For Papers," *Perspectives* 29 (October 1991): 6.

IV. A Diverse Field Needs a Diversity of Approaches

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Is research in mass communication history special? The answer to that question, I believe, is both "no" and "yes;" and that ambiguity holds important implications for the teaching of research methods to prospective media historians. The purpose of this essay is to explore some of those implications and to suggest how the graduate curriculum might turn this ambiguity into a creative and productive intellectual tension.

In some ways, the study of mass communication (or mass media) history is not special at all; it is no different from the study of other institutions and processes in history. This is not to say that it is simple. Mass communication history necessarily involves the history of economics, politics, culture, and half a dozen other sub-fields of historical inquiry. But the same might be said of business, religion, education, the military, the family, and so on. The standard methodologies of historical research are just as applicable to the study of mass media as to any other social institution. Indeed, communication seems to be a hot topic in many sub-fields of history these days. And as more historians are turning to it, they are applying the same methods of social and intellectual history that they have used on other topics in the past.

Yet, in one crucial way, mass media history is special. It is special because of its location in the disciplinary apparatus of the university. Usually research and teaching of media history takes place in communication departments, not in history departments. This organizational fact may be arbitrary, but it is not trivial. It means that – for better or for worse – media history is structurally part of a research and teaching enterprise devoted primarily to media rather than history. This enterprise, however, is not a "discipline," in the conventional meaning of that term. I would define an academic discipline as a branch of knowledge growing from some consensus on perspective or, sometimes, method – not unlike the discipline of a monastic order. Mass communication is not a perspective or method; it is a subject. And mass communication research, therefore, is not a discipline; it is the work of a community of scholars from various disciplines. The media historian – as scholar and as teacher – represents one discipline, history, in a multidisciplinary research effort. Graduate training for mass communication history, therefore, ordinarily occurs in an organizational and disciplinary setting quite different from traditional training in history.

Is this disciplinary fence-straddling a good thing? It can be, if both teachers and students make the most of it. To do so requires research training on three levels, which I will call disciplinary, multidisciplinary, and

metadisciplinary. To put it another way, our task in graduate education is threefold: to train scholars of communication history; to train scholars of communication history; and to train scholars of communication history. If the work goes well, each student will embrace – and master – all three roles.

In the remainder of this essay, I will try to explain why this threefold typology is important, how it applies to the study of research methodology, and how it might guide an individual graduate student's program of coursework.

Disciplinary Training

The communication historian's disciplinary home should be history. That sounds simple enough. But history is not a simple discipline. It is not a discipline of theory or methodology, but of perspective, the perspective of time. What sets history apart from other disciplines is not merely its preoccupation with the past, but its assertion that the past is important in its own right and on its own terms. For some historians, the quality of "pastness" makes history an ideal locale for generalization and theory building. After all, in history an event not only has a present and a past but a future as well – all conveniently determined by virtue of having already happened. Grand social theory – the nature of empire, revolution, civilization, religion, gender – has always been constructed in the laboratory of history. For other historians, the quality of "pastness" suggests indeterminacy, contingency, and idiosyncrasy. They say of an event: It could have been accidental, it could have been otherwise. But the fact that it was not otherwise, that it did happen, makes it important nonetheless. In no other discipline is the individual or the individual quirk of fate as empowered as in history. In other words, some historians are generalizers; some are specifiers. Some are social scientists; some are humanists. Only the devotion to "pastness" unites them.

This diversity of research goal in history produces a great deal of diversity of methodology. Some historians use surveys and other quantitative methods of data analysis; some do textual exegesis; some reconstruct individual lives through what looks almost like archaeological digs through evidence. In their writing, some make tables; some tell stories. The pastness of historical evidence, however, casts a similar and sobering pall over all historical work. Virtually all historical evidence is tainted by problems of origin, sampling, and bias; and the direction and extent of these problems are often unknown and unknowable. The recovery, reclamation, and renovation of defective evidence, therefore, is a common burden for all historians, whether econometricians or epic poets. For graduate students in history, then, the study of methodology should be twofold: It should include a broad survey of methods, both quantitative and qualitative; but it must be grounded in a thorough study of the peculiar problems of historical sources. In other words, methodological training for history should interlace the study of specific techniques (quantification, hermeneutics, etc.) with the discipline's traditional obsession with the critical evaluation of evidence.

Multidisciplinary Training

If history is not a simple discipline, mass communication research is not a discipline at all. It is rather a subject matter that has attracted a company of scholars from many disciplines, from both the social sciences and humanities. (I think this multidisciplinary character still holds – and rightly so – even though most scholars in the field today receive their doctoral degrees in mass communication). The traditional main currents of mass communication research sprang from political sociology and psychology. These currents have produced

the standard styles of audience research in the field, most notably the analysis of public opinion at the demographic level and the study of the effects of media exposure at the individual level. Simultaneously, there has also been strong interest in the institutions of mass communication. Institutional studies have long drawn upon the disciplines of economics and law. More recently, organizational sociology, cultural studies, and literary theory have been joined to the effort. Even the mathematical sciences have been brought into the work from time to time: information theory in the 1940s; computer science today.

This multidisciplinary cohabitation has bred striking methodological diversity in the field. Because of the long-standing prominence of political sociology and psychology, the standard methods of mass communication research have traditionally been random-sample surveys and controlled laboratory experiments – both with fairly routine statistical data analysis. From the early days on, these standard methods for audience research have been supplemented by quantitative content analysis of media messages. The more recent turns to institutional and cultural studies have brought in new methods from the social sciences and humanities, including participant observation, focus groups, textual hermeneutics, ethnography, and other anthropological techniques – what Clifford Geertz has called "thick description."

Happily or unhappily, the mass communication historian is a member of this large, complicated, and not always harmonious family. To be a vital, contributing member, the historian must be at ease with this methodological melange and must be able to see how history can be fitted into it. For the graduate student in media history, this suggests a broad survey of the range of methods in the field, as well as training in the more important research designs. I would recommend instruction in the two traditional methodologies of audience research, surveys and experimentation, as well as training in one of the newer approaches, audience ethnography. Training in these methods is essential if the media historian is to understand mainstream social science and humanistic research in mass communication. But even more important, training in survey research, experimentation, and ethnography can be directly applicable to history. The evidence of history is different, but the logic of design and control is not.

Metadisciplinary Training

One goal of in-depth training in methodology is vocational: to help the aspiring researcher do research. But the greater goal is intellectual: to help the aspiring researcher understand research. It is here that the study of several methodologies adds up to an intellectual sum greater than its parts. That sum is an appreciation of epistemology and its perils – an understanding of what knowledge is, how it is socially constructed, how it is gained and used. In the academic trade, we often say that research consists of theory and methodology. Theory is the goal; methodology is the path to it. Because theoretical goals and methodologies differ across disciplines, research strategies in the disciplines are strikingly varied. Furthermore, underlying philosophical differences separate postmodern humanists from unreconstructed social scientists. Yet, despite these methodological and even epistemological differences, all research strategies and methods – whether in physical science, social science, history, literature, or even journalism – share certain fundamental characteristics. In every field, the specific procedures of method involve, in one way or another, the control of variables. If we can, we control variables physically or statistically; if we cannot do that, we manage them intellectually. That is, we weigh them and challenge them by asking, "If this, then what about that?" In each case, the nature of the data

determines the method, and methods differ. But the fundamental task of method – the control of variables – remains the same. In my own teaching, I use a table to try to show this family resemblance among research methods. (See Table 1).

Table 1

A Comparison of Common Research Design Terminology in Social Science and History

Social Science	Experimental	Survey	Interpretive
History	Comparative	Quantitative	Narrative
	Physical Control	Statistical Control	Intellectual Control

Control of Variables

So, the great virtue of multidisciplinary studies is a larger – a metadisciplinary – understanding of research. A researcher can see his or her own discipline more clearly and holistically by viewing it from the outside, from another discipline. For example, a historian who can appreciate the similarity between a narrative account of the coming of the American Civil War and a quasi-experimental research design will be a shrewder researcher and a better scholar. It's like learning a foreign language. The new perspective on grammar, etymology, and metaphor makes students more thoughtful and confident speakers of their own native tongue.

To achieve such a metadisciplinary understanding, graduate students need, first, to master the theory and methodology of more than one discipline. Such multidisciplinary mastery provides the vantage for seeing the larger connections. To help them make the metadisciplinary connections complete, I would also recommend some coursework at the level of epistemology. Most students could benefit from – and would welcome – a course or two (or directed reading) in the sociology and philosophy of knowledge.

Sample Program

Methodological training for mass communication history need not be highly formalized; it can be individualized and embedded into each student's program of courses, seminars, readings, and dissertation. A specified set of courses is probably a good idea but not necessary; rather, a sense of what is to be accomplished is the key. The trinitarian goal that I have outlined suggests something like this:

(a) History

- a seminar (and directed readings) in mass communication history.
- research practice through several research seminars in the history department.
- a course or readings in traditional historical methods,

stressing the nature of historical evidence.

- a course or readings in quantitative methods for history.

(b) Communication

- a survey of mass communication research, both theory and methodology.
- a substantive concentration of coursework in a non-historical stream of mass communication research.
- a course or courses in survey, experimental, and ethnographic research design (in communication or in a social science department).
- a course or two in statistics.

(c) Metadisciplinary Work

- a course or courses in the sociology of knowledge and the philosophy of science.
- philosophical readings strewn throughout the curriculum.

Conclusion

Academic research and graduate education are often criticized as too narrow, too specialized. This is a fair criticism, but not one easy to answer. Of course, we want scholars who are broadly learned and wise. But given the utility and power of modern research methods, we also want skilled specialists, not intellectual factotums, not jacks of all methods but masters of none. What we really want – the ideal – are graduates with the tools of the specialist but the wisdom of the generalist. To this end, I have argued for methodological training on three levels: disciplinary, multidisciplinary, and metadisciplinary. It may be a utopian's faith, but I believe our goal should be nothing less than the incarnation of the triune graduate, three persons in one: the scholar of communication history.

V. On Making Connections With Outside Subfields

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At one time, "real" historians – those teaching in history departments – made occasional forays into our field but rarely lingered long enough to cultivate it. Typically, they became intrigued by some aspect of journalism or communication tangential to their own work, pursued it for a while, and then returned to their central interest elsewhere. Fortunately, even this casual interest in communication produced some classics; Arthur Schlesinger's *Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain* is one.[31]

In the meantime, historians in journalism programs, like their counterparts in other professional schools, were turning out internalist studies. Schools of law, education, business, and library science as well as journalism hired and promoted faculty members primarily for their professional credentials and expertise; skills or an interest in history were accorded little weight. Moreover, given the nature of their curricula, these professional programs used history to impart values and foster a sense of identity among neophyte practitioners. For them, history had an instrumental value; understanding the past for its own sake was left to academics in the history department. Historical research conducted in this environment produced biographies, histories of individual firms, more biographies, a few textbook overviews, and only occasional thematic monographs. Most of the work could be (and was) safely ignored by scholars writing general histories except when they needed to verify details about a prominent newspaper or editor.

Today, thankfully, communication history is being invigorated by developments in both quarters. Instructors of journalism history classes now take history seriously, perhaps having studied it (in either a mass communication or history department) as part of their own graduate training. For their part, "real" historians increasingly treat communication as central to their own research and teaching. Some signs: Richard D. Brown used communication as an organizing principle in his book, *Modernization: The Transformation of American Life, 1600-1865*, and then explicated it further in *Knowledge is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700-1865*.[32] George Juergens, author of several books on journalism history, teaches a course on presidents and the press at Indiana University's history department. The history department at the University of Illinois-Chicago offers a course on the nineteenth-century communication revolution in the United States and England. The wider historical field's receptiveness to our work is reflected in the growing number of mass communication studies in such journals as *American Quarterly* and the *Journal of American History* (though it's still a rare decade when the *American Historical Review* features a piece dealing with some aspect of communication). Perhaps the best evidence of opportunities to study communication history outside traditional mass communication programs comes

31. Schlesinger, *Prelude to Independence* (New York: Knopf, 1957).
32. Brown, *Modernization* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976); *Knowledge is Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

from doctoral dissertations: more communication history dissertations are now produced outside schools of journalism than inside.[33]

Although internalist histories continue to occupy an important place in our professional curricula, the "new" communication history opens outward. Essentially, this involves asking why communication was important to some societal process or institution other than the media itself. Toward that end, I would like to propose a framework to promote externalist studies in communication history. Much historical work today is conducted in one of several subfields – economic history, social history, cultural history, and so forth. To gain explanatory power (and a larger audience), communication historians should expressly link their interests with issues being investigated by such better-established subfields.

This approach has several advantages – and a few drawbacks. First, it directs us to significant topics. Second, it delimits and guides the literature search at the outset of a study; this increases the range of secondary sources consulted, for it requires mastering not just the relevant communication literature but also portions of the literature in the cognate subfield. Third, it builds a common base with colleagues in history departments. Fourth, knowledge of other subfields should help us see more clearly the dimensions of communication history that would otherwise remain in the shadows. Fifth, linking our topics with other subfields automatically increases the size of our potential audience. Sixth, it enlarges our publication opportunities – most subfields have one or more journals that could become outlets for our work.

Finally, although the framework below is organized around research areas, it suggests alternative paths to follow in training communication historians. For those majoring in mass communication, the taxonomy underscores the importance of outside coursework in a history department. For others, the framework suggests the viability of studying communication while earning a degree in history. Ultimately, though, we should strive to use communication as a historical variable that connects subfields – not to further fragment the historical enterprise by creating yet another provincial body of scholarship.

The remainder of this essay presents a taxonomy for study and research organized by the major dimensions of contemporary historical inquiry – social, political, economic, geographic, scientific, technological, intellectual, and cultural history. It identifies research arenas that enrich, or have the potential to enrich, research and training in our field. Wherever possible, examples of studies are drawn from authors and journals outside mass communication to illustrate the range of work underway today. Journals central to each subfield are mentioned to suggest starting points for literature reviews as well as publication outlets for the fruits of our own labors.

Social history. Social history, a dynamic subfield in the last three decades, has left a noticeable imprint on communication. Social historians have explored the role of communication in people's everyday lives. Schudson, for instance, connects changing audience needs with the nature of 1830s journalism. Studies of reading – who read what and why – have proliferated recently and

33. For evidence about the breadth of the work produced by new scholars, and the variety of departments in which they are working, see the list of dissertations in recent issues of *Journalism History*.

provide a path to understanding the importance of communication in daily affairs.[34]

A number of social histories have examined communication's role in fostering a sense of community. Steele, for example, looked at the ways communication before 1740 bound American colonists to England; Merritt argued that after 1740 changing patterns of colonial communication fostered a sense of "Americanness." The role of the press in fostering nationality in the nineteenth-century United States, however, has only tentatively been explored. Communities, of course, exist on other levels, and the first steps have been taken to assess how communication figured in the lives of urban residents, immigrants, racial and ethnic groups, and communities of interest (e.g., feminists and abolitionists).[35]

The insights and approaches of social historians can enrich our understanding of journalistic institutions and other media organizations. Taking cues from occupational and organizational sociology, they look at the conventions that govern work and the internal dynamics of organizations. While there has been considerable historical work on the professionalization of various occupations, journalism has received, at best, spotty treatment. The differentiation of functions within news organizations, and its implications for producing the news report, remains largely unexplored. Smythe's study of reporters' working conditions is a good start along this path. Education historians have examined the development of training programs for many occupations but not journalism. Press ethics, on the other hand, seems to be a growing area of historical inquiry. Dicken-Garcia's book takes the topic to the period just before the emergence of a professional self-consciousness.[36]

The *Journal of Social History* is the best publication in which to track trends in this subfield. Also useful are *Comparative Studies in Society and History* and *Social History*. A new entry, the *Journal of Historical Sociology*, may prove a worthwhile addition.

Political history. Political history involves more than just partisan politics; conceived broadly, it embraces government (including censorship), policy, and diplomacy. Freedom of the press remains communication history's most venerable subject, as the 14,000-plus entries in McCoy's two-volume bibliography attest. Unfortunately, much of this so-called history really consists of legal briefs for contemporary positions and thus suffers from inattention to historical nuances. The major episodes of federal censorship

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34. Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978); William J. Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1780-1835* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989).

35. James W. Carey, "The Communications Revolution and the Professional Communicator," *Sociological Monographs* 13 (January 1969): 23-38; Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675-1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Richard L. Merritt, *Symbols of American Community, 1735-1775* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966); Michael Schudson, "Preparing the Minds of the People: Three Hundred Years of the American Newspaper," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 100 (October 1990): 421-43.

36. Ted Curtis Smythe, "The Reporter, 1880-1900: Working Conditions and Their Influence on the News," *Journalism History* 7 (Spring 1980): 1-10; Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).

have been well scoured by political historians. But less obvious – and less dramatic – forms of government control remain understudied. Stevens' framework for studying freedom of expression has, regrettably, not stimulated the follow up work it suggested. For nineteenth-century studies of press law, Blanchard urged historians to examine action at the state level.[37]

Government's more general influence on the press has received spotty treatment. Ames revised our appreciation of the nineteenth-century partisan press, while Smith detailed the patronage system that sustained it. The effect of the press on political reform has long been a favorite topic. Several presidents' dealings with the press (mainly Lincoln and the two Roosevelts) have been thoroughly documented, but coverage of Congress only recently received adequate scrutiny by a historian. The federal bureaucracy's impact on the press, a much less exciting though important subject, has been addressed substantially only for the New Deal. Broadcast regulation alone among communication policies has enjoyed sophisticated historical treatment. Finally, the role of communication in international relations has become a hot topic for political scientists; yet, with rare exceptions, historians have looked at communication's place in foreign policy only in times of war.[38]

A lone journal, *Studies in American Political Development*, is devoted to historical studies of political phenomena. Most political science journals carry an occasional historical piece, though quantitative studies of current developments usually fill most of their pages. *Political Science Quarterly* and the *Review of Politics* are more receptive to historical approaches than most. Three noteworthy specialized history journals are the *American Journal of Legal History* (quite amenable to studies on press freedom), the *Journal of Policy History*, and *Diplomatic History*.

Economic, business, and labor history. Anyone undertaking research in the economic foundations of journalism would be well advised to

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37. Ralph E. McCoy, *Freedom of the Press: An Annotated Encyclopedia* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968); McCoy, *Freedom of the Press, A Bibliocyclopedia: Ten-Year Supplement* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979); John D. Stevens, "Freedom of Expression: New Dimensions," in *Mass Media and the National Experience*, ed. Ronald Farrar and John D. Stevens (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 14-59; Margaret A. Blanchard, "Filling in the Void: Speech and Press in State Courts Prior to *Gitlow*," in *The First Ammendment Reconsidered*, ed. Bill F. Chamberlin and Charlene J. Brown (New York: Longman, 1982), 14-59.

38. William E. Ames, *A History of the National Intelligencer* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972); Culver H. Smith, *The Press, Politics, and Patronage: The American Government's Use of Newspapers, 1789-1875* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977); Thomas C. Leonard, *The Power of the Press: The Birth of American Political Reporting* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); David Paul Nord, *Newspapers and New Politics: Midwestern Municipal Reform, 1890-1900* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981); Donald A. Ritchie, *Press Gallery: Congress and the Washington Correspondents* (Cambridege: Harvard University Press, 1991); Richard W. Steele, *Propaganda in an Open Society: The Roosevelt Administration and the Media, 1933-1941* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985); James L. Baughman, *Television's Guardians: The FCC and the Politics of Programming, 1958-1967* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1985); James D. Startt, *Journalism's Unofficial Ambassador: A Biography of Edward Price Bell, 1869-1943* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1979); Robert C. Hildebrand, *Power and the People: Executive Management of Public Opinion in Foreign Affairs, 1897-1921* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981).

start with Smith's and Dyer's comprehensive and masterful historiographic essay. The labor history of the press has been well studied, probably because printers' unions were one of the first labor organizations, left ample written records, and conducted highly visible strikes. Rorabaugh's study of the apprenticeship system in nineteenth-century America, which devotes at least half its pages to printers, looks at an early occupational phase. The story of the press in the struggle between labor and business, however, has yet to be told.[39]

The business history of mass communication is emerging as a fruitful area. Perhaps the central question is how the pressures to survive economically affected the nature of media enterprises. The precarious finances of frontier newspapers have received some attention, as have trade associations of the press. The burgeoning interest in the history of advertising should contribute to our understanding of its place in sustaining the commercial media.[40]

Innis was probably the first economic historian to seriously consider communication as a variable in economic development. Approaching from a different direction, Pred, an economic geographer, identified information flows as a central force in the development of U.S. city systems. In the last decade, the telegraph has been singled out for its impact on business operations, commercial exchanges, and the operation of financial markets.[41]

The journals *Labor History*, *Business History Review* and the *Journal of Economic History* track developments on these and kindred topics.

Historical geography. Historical geography is one of the cognate fields most overlooked by communication historians. As the study of spatial relationships, geography should be a natural ally of communication, the transmission of information and meaning across space. Yet only Innis and Carey have borrowed, and then crudely, from geography to illuminate questions central to communication. Abler provides an introduction to the geography of communication. The economic geographer Pred has conducted the most sophisticated studies in the historical geography of American communication. Areas for possible investigation by communication historians are the changing patterns of news flow, the structure of a nation's communication system, and urban-rural tensions in communication. Some studies of communication and community (see above) have an underlying geographic basis. Historical geography is practiced more widely outside the United States; hence, one often

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39. Carol Smith and Carolyn Stewart Dyer, "Taking Stock, Placing Orders: A Historiographic Essay on the Business History of the Newspaper," *Journalism Monographs* 132 (April 1992); Daniel J. Leab, *A Union of Individuals: The Formation of the American Newspaper Guild, 1933-1936* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970); William J. Rorabaugh, *The Craft Apprentice: From Franklin to the Machine Age in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

40. Gerald G. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth-Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); Barbara Cloud, *The Business of Newspapers on the Western Frontier* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1992); Edwin Emery, *History of the American Newspaper Publishers Association* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1950).

41. Allan R. Pred, *Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790-1840* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973): Richard Du Boff, "The Telegraph and the Structure of Markets in the United States, 1845-1890," *Research in Economic History* 8 (1983): 253-77.

has to look far afield for some of the best work involving communication. The *Journal of Historical Geography* is a good starting point.[42]

History of science and technology. While history departments generally suffered declining enrollments and support during the last two decades, history of science and technology flourished. Historians of science have not yet exhibited a sustaining interest in communication. Occasionally a lone historian will write about the origins of a medical or science journal. And the popularization of scientific research in the mass media has received a little attention. *Isis*, the field's central journal, carries an annual bibliography.[43]

Historians of technology have found media one of the more interesting topics – enough so that the Society for the History of Technology organized a communication specialty group a few years ago. The telegraph, telephone, and early radio have been the most popular subjects. Schwarzlose's history of wire services gives due attention to the telegraph; Eisenstein's monumental study of printing's impact nicely blends technology with other subfields. *Technology & Culture*, the oldest journal here, runs a marvelous bibliography in each April issue; it has sections and index terms for various communication media.[44]

Intellectual history. As historians in the last few decades shifted from studying elites to the everyday experiences of everyday people, intellectual history lost some momentum. But recent attempts to trace the means by which ideas diffuse from elites to mass audiences assign importance to the press (Covert anticipated this in 1975). Indeed, the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, the meetingplace for intellectual historians, recently published an essay reviewing current scholarship in the history of journalism for just such a reason.[45]

Cultural history. Through the 1980s, cultural history was at once both the most exciting and the most frustrating historical subfield. As Nord points out, communication properly occupies center stage in cultural history; yet, he properly cautions, culture has remained an amorphous concept and cultural historians are often better at dissecting culture than practicing history. He urges cultural historians to ground their studies in rigorous social, intellectual, and business history.[46]

Carey and his students have been the major practitioners of cultural studies in communication history (he pulled together many of his best essays in a 1989 book). Another group of cultural historians interested in communication

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42. James W. Carey, "Culture, Geography, and Communications: The Work of Harold Innis in an American Perspective," in *Culture, Communication, and Dependency: The Tradition of H.A. Innis*, ed. William H. Melody, Liora Salter, and Paul Heyer (Norwood, N. J.: Ablex, 1981), 73-91; Ronald F. Abler, "The Geography of Communications," in *Transportation Geography*, ed. Michael F. Hurst (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), 327-46: Pred, *Circulation of Information.*

43. Marcel C. LaFollette, *Making Science Our Own: Public Images of Science, 1910-1955* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

44. Richard A. Schwarzlose, *The Nation's Newsbrokers*, 2 vols. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1989 and 1990); Elizabeth Eisentstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

45. Cathy Covert, "A View of the Press in the Twenties," *Journalism History 2* (Autumn 1975): 66-67, 92-96; Brendan Dooley, "From Literary Criticism to Systems Theory in Early Modern Journalism History," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 51 (July-September 1990): 461-86.

46. David P. Nord, "Intellectual History, Social History, Cultural History...and Our History," *Journalism Quarterly* 67 (Winter 1990): 645-48.

comes from history and American Studies programs. They have offered provocative work on advertising and the emergence of a consumer culture. Lears offers a sensible analysis of the concept of cultural hegemeony (which pervades much 1980s' research), concluding that historians, if judicious, can use it profitably. In a related vein, Bender proposes the study of public culture – how groups struggle to assign meaning to various phenomena – as a major unifying theme in history. Lears and Bender both acknowledge that communciation is important in such cultural studies.[47]

Cultural historians often publish in *American Quarterly* and the other American Studies journals.

Other niches. The expansive discipline of history harbors other niches that should be mined by communication historians. Library history shares much with our field, both in subject matter and status. Despite the narrow construction of the word "library," its historians care about the history of the printed word in all forms. Until recently library history, like journalism history, has been regarded as a marginal subfield by "real" historians. The *Journal of Library History* has adopted the new name of *Libraries & Culture*; *Library Quarterly*, and the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* also carry studies on the history of printing.

Literary history, which often blends elements of cultural and intellectual history, deals with a species of communication routinely ignored by our field. Many literary figures, including the most prominent American authors, often worked in journalism.[48]

Similarly, historians in speech communication departments often help us understand the complementary nature of mass and interpersonal communication, especially before the emergence of mass media in the late 1800s.

The preceding framework represents a partial taxonomy of the conceptual dimensions of communication history. In the sciences, taxonomies are only the starting point for research. The value of such classification schemes is that they often reveal relationships that are not readily apparent. When we know the manifold places where communication history intersects the other subfields of history, the resulting cross-fertilization of scholarship should invigorate our research and teaching – and that of our colleagues in history departments.

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47. James W. Carey, *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989); Richard W. Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears, eds. *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980* (New York: Pantheon, 1983); T.J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," *American Historical Review*, 90 (June 1985): 567-93; Thomas Bender, "Wholes and Parts: The Need for Synthesis in American History," *Journal of American History* 73 (June 1986): 120-36.

48. Christopher P. Wison, *Labor of Words: Literary Professionalism in the Progressive Era* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985).

The Incorporation of Malcolm X

by

Richard Lentz

Intense symbolism was attached to the black nationalist Malcolm X during the 1960s. As the leading proselytizer of the Lost-Found Nation of Islam in the West, a separatist sect popularly known as the Black Muslims, he advocated the securing of a separate homeland for blacks, comprised of several states in the United States, or, alternatively, a return to Africa. Furthermore, in contrast to the Gandhian nonviolence that had dominated the civil rights movement, he argued that armed self-defense was necessary for blacks. Finally, Malcolm X proclaimed the Muslim doctrine that whites belonged to a perverted and twisted race that was doomed to extinction. Such preachments made him a fascinating and frightening figure to many Americans, and, predictably, Malcolm X was defined as a deviant, a threat.

One of the agents of social control that attached that label to him was *Time* magazine, whose coverage of Malcolm X this article examines. What the premier journalistic voice of middle-class America said about one of the most important black leaders of the twentieth century is worth studying in order to shed light on how the press resists and contributes to social change. *Time*'s reports about Malcolm X merit examination for another reason: to illumine how the stigma of deviance is attached and manipulated through mass media depictions—and how it is removed. While *Time* depicted Malcolm X as a devil figure up to and beyond his death in 1965, the magazine started to portray him in a positive light a half-decade following his assassination. Not for the first time, nor the last, had the stigma of deviance been removed. But incorporation of Malcolm X signaled something more than toleration or even acceptance. He became a powerful symbol, the force of which was recognized but not created by the recent film directed by Spike Lee.

Once a deviant does not mean *always* a deviant. "Deviance designations have histories," admonished Joseph Gusfield. "What is attacked as criminal today may be seen as sick next year and fought over as possibly legitimate by the next generation."[1] The moral passage described by Gusfield has been made by a number of deviants:those who are divorced, or who engage in alcoholism or

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1. Joseph R. Gusfield, "Moral Passage: The Symbolic Process in Public Designations of Deviance," *Social Problems* 15 (Fall 1967): 187.

drug abuse;[2] members of religious bodies, such as the Mormons;[3] cultural symbols such as Linus Pauling, the Nobel laureate scientist who campaigned against nuclear arms testing during the Cold War, and Jomo Kenyatta, the Kenyan insurrectionist turned nation-builder and statesman;[4] and practitioners of deviant science, such as radio astronomy, and deviant medicine, such as acupuncture.[5]

Various factors, separately or in concert, may cause the stigma of deviance to be removed. These include the defining role of instruments of social control, especially news media; changes in society; and actions taken by deviants themselves.

Mass media may promote social acceptance by erasing the sigma of deviance, or by bringing about a new perspective about deviance. While on assignment in China in 1971, James Reston of the New York *Times* had to undergo an emergency appendectomy. He reported that "an acupuncturist's needles effectively blocked his pain following the operation." Before Reston's report, acupuncture, to the extent that it was known at all among non-Asians in the United States, was regarded as a primitive folk medicine to which the Chinese insisted on clinging. After Reston's experience, acupuncture became widely known in the United States. "Now 21 states license acupuncturists, and many insurance companies will cover the treatments."[6]

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2. The fading stigma of divorce is mentioned in Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall/Spectrum, 1963), 137. Alcoholics Anonymous successfully replaced the idea of alcoholism as an immoral and sinful practice with the disease theory of alcoholism. Edward Sagarin, *Odd Man In: Societies of Deviants in America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), 46. John C. Kramer, "From Demon to Ally—How Mythology Has, and May Yet, Alter National Drug Policy," *Journal of Drug Issues* 6 (Fall, 1976): 390-406. The definition of drugs and users appears to be undergoing another change at this time.

3. On deviant labeling during early Mormon history, see Annette P. Hampshire and James A. Beckford, "Religious Sects and the Concept of Deviance: The Mormons and the Moonies," *British Journal of Sociology* 34 (June 1983): 208-229, and Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), passim. The decisive step toward legitimacy was a manifesto issued by LDS Church President Wilford Woodruff that started the process leading eventually to the end of plural marriages. Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 3-15, passim.

4. Richard Lentz and Dennis Russell, "The Scientist as Ideological Deviant: Linus Pauling and the News Magazines" (Paper presented to the Southwest Conference, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Lubbock, Texas, October 1993). As leader of the Mau-Mau rebellion, Kenyatta "had been denounced by a British colonial governor as 'a leader to darkness and death,'" but he became, as ruler of Kenya, "a symbol of reconciliation without rancor. As a special mark of respect," the British sent "Prince Charles to represent Queen Elizabeth II at Kenyatta's funeral." "The Old Man Dies at Last," *Time*, 4 Sept. 1978, 28.

5. For the passage of radio astronomy from deviance to scientific acceptance, see Nachman Ben-Yehuda, *The Politics and Morality of Deviance: Moral Panics, Drug Abuse, Deviant Science, and Reversed Stigmatization* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 181-219. A.J. Webster, "Scientific Controversy and Socio-Cognitive Metonymy: The Case of Acupuncture," *Sociological Review Monograph* No. 27 (March 1979): 121-137.

6. Claudia Wallis, "Why New Age Medicine Is Catching On," *Time*, 4 Nov. 1991,

The stigma of deviance may also be erased because of changes in society. All societies, in the functionalist perspective of Durkheim, derive benefit from deviance; without deviants stretching the constricting boundaries of acceptable actions and attitudes, a society would become too rigid, too brittle to endure very long. Thus, "deviance may begin a process of progress and adaptation to new and largely acceptable norms. Certain figures once labeled deviant"—e.g., Gandhi and Martin Luther King—encouraged social change in ways that are "presently evaluated as positive."[7]

Actions taken by deviants that may lead to the removal of stigma include conversion or adopting the standards and practices of existing orthodoxy. For example, osteopathy emerged in the 1880s as one of the challengers to orthodox medicine. After the hegemony of scientific medicine was firmly established in the twentieth century and after osteopathy undertook "substantial reforms in training and practice to incorporate the theories and techniques of scientific medicine," osteopathy became "virtually. . .absorbed into medical orthodoxy." Similarly, the deviant may rehabilitate himself. Yet rehabilitation alone is usually insufficient; it requires certification, which may be supplied, among others, by mass media. News media may also refuse to certify rehabilitation, as can be seen in coverage of David Duke's 1991 gubernatorial campaign in Louisiana; few journalists believed Duke had sincerely renounced beliefs he had held as a Klansman and American Nazi.[8]

In general, labeling theory posits "a one-way directional process of stigmatization and degradation." By contrast, Ben-Yehuda argues, "processes of degradation, stigmatization, and deviantization not only may be neutralized but also may be resisted and even reversed." Senator Edward Kennedy and the Chappaquiddick case and former President Richard Nixon and Watergate are examples of neutralization, which occurs when the accusations are neutralized but do not disappear. "However, neither Nixon nor Kennedy were able to *resist* the deviantization process, much less *reverse* them." Deviants may also "organize themselves and successfully generate enough power and public support

70; Webster, "Scientific Controversy," 122-124. Similarly, Alcoholics Anonymous might have remained "small and obscure. . .had a writer for the *Saturday Evening Post* not discovered it...That one popular article made AA a household word in America." Sagarin, *Odd Man In*, 39-40.

7. Ben-Yehuda provides a well-argued defense of neo-functionalism in *Politics and Morality of Deviance*, 259-263. Bruce K. Friesen, "Powerlessness in Adolescence: Exploiting Heavy Metal Listeners," in Clinton R. Sanders, ed., *Marginal Conventions : Popular Culture, Mass Media, and Social Deviance* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1990), 67. Changes may also involve increased knowledge about and acceptance of a condition once regarded as threatening or frightening, e. g., mental illness. Charles Winick, "Mental Illness and Psychiatrists in Movies" in Charles Winick, ed., *Deviance and Mass Media* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1978), 76.

8. On the early history of osteopathy, see Norman Gevitz, "Andrew Taylor Still and the Social Origins of Osteopathy," in Roger Cooter, ed., *Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine* (London: Macmillan Press/St. Antony's College, Oxford, 1988), pp. 155-170. The quotation is from Roy Wallis and Peter Morley, "Introduction" to Roy Wallis and Peter Morley, eds., *Marginal Medicine* (New York: Free Press, 1976), 17. On certification, see Thomas Meisenhelder, "Becoming Normal: Certification as a Stage in Exiting from Crime," in Clifton D. Bryant, ed., *Deviant Behavior: Readings in the Sociology of Norm Violations* (New York: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation, 1990), 788.

for their version of morality and for their collective attempts to destigmatize themselves." Such a countermovement was the "campaign by militant gay activists" that transformed the homosexual's image "from a dangerous, sick, and perverted pariah into a *human* image, demanding and receiving equality in various areas." Ben-Yehuda recounted the case of an Israeli politician, accused of public corruption, who was able to reverse deviantization, i.e., turn the accusations against his accusers. He used the criminal case against him "to bolster his political career, establish a new party, gain three seats. . .in the Israeli parliament, and enter the government." He accomplished all this by appealing to religious and ethnic identity and grievances, especially among Jews with Moroccan roots, portraying himself as a victim of Israel's elite Ashkensai Jews (those, roughly, of Western heritage).[9]

A step beyond reversing stigmatization is incorporation. Once reviled deviants become incorporated as affirmative symbols available to the larger culture—as happened to the symbolic Malcolm X. Among these incorporated deviants are Britain's once "almost universally vilified" teddy boys, members of a youth subculture of the 1950s, which was incorporated in the 1970s.[10] Another example is the Salvation Army. Founded in 1865, the Salvation Army encountered "35 years of persecution." The Salvation Army subsequently endured attacks by mobs in England and the United States, and the disapproval of other churches and of establishment figures—in part because of its quasi-military structure, its promotion of sexual equality in its ranks, and its association with the poor. So associated with charitable works has the Salvation Army become that it attracts contributions from many Americans of different faiths, who regard it primarily as a charitable rather than religious organization. Paradoxically, its bell ringers who solicit contributions at Christmas have become one of the symbols of that season.[11] Certain practices also make the moral passage to respectability. Pornography provides a good illustration. Initially a "highly stigmatized practice engaged in by people largely hidden from public view, [pornography] slowly became incorporated into a wider cross-section of the population. With the advent of *Playboy*, mainstream media entered the scene, resulting in the present proliferation of sexually oriented magazines and tabloids."[12]

The sect that won the loyalties of Malcolm X was founded in 1930, but almost three decades passed before the Black Muslims started to become a household word. The founder was a mysterious figure, identified, variously, as W. D. Fard, W. D. Farad Muhammad, Walli Farrad, F. Mohammed Ali, and so

9. Ben-Yehuda, *Politics and Morality of Deviance*, 66-67, 223-247, passim.
10. Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Methuen, 1979), 80-84, 92-99.
11. On the early suppression, see Richard Collier, *The General Next to God: The Story of William Booth and the Salvation Army* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1965), 110-115, 170-173, 192-198, 214, 255-260. See also, Edward H. McKinley, *Marching to Glory: The History of the Salvation Army in the United States of America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 7, 62-65.
12. Patricia A. Adler and Peter Adler, "Tinydopers: A Case Study of Deviant Socialization," in Delos H. Kelly, ed., *Deviant Behavior: A Text-Reader in the Sociology of Deviance*, 3rd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 581. See also, Charles Winick, "From Deviant to Normative: Changes in the Social Acceptability of Sexually Explicit Material," in Edward Sagarin, ed., *Deviance and Social Change* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1977), 219-246.

on. His contemporaries believed Fard to be a prophet of Allah, but he was later regarded by the sect as Allah in human form. After Fard disappeared in 1933, the leadership of the sect passed to Elijah Muhammad, who became known as the Messenger of Allah. The Muslims repudiated Christianity, American citizenship, whites and white values, and, for the most part, mainstream black leaders and black organizations. The Muslims' solution to the race problem was separation; blacks would secure several states for settlement, leading to the eventual establishment of a black republic; alternatively, they would lead a return to "our native land"—a reference to Moslem countries in Africa, especially those of North Africa.[13]

Despite their condemnations of whites as devils, the Muslims eschewed violence as a "matter of religious belief, although they believe in self-defense." Nor, despite their rejection of the American system, were they reluctant to use such government agencies as the courts, to secure their rights. In 1961, more than 100 lawsuits were filed (most of them by Black Muslims) to force prison officials not to interfere with Islamic observances.[14]

The sect attracted little attention until the late 1950s, when the "ferment in the black ghetto began to produce a rumbling that threatened the racial facade," raising fears of black retaliatory violence.[15] One reason that the Nation of Islam attracted attention was the charismatic leader of Harlem's Temple Seven: Malcolm X.

Malcolm Little was born in Omaha in 1925, the son of a self-ordained minister, the Reverend Earl Little and his wife, Mrs. Louise Little, followers of Marcus Garvey. The family encountered its share of racism, including a stoning by whites in Lansing, Michigan. At six years of age, Malcolm X lost his father; he had been run over by the trolley. The authorities described this as an accident; Malcolm X, as he grew older, "began leaning toward his mother's theory" that Earl Little was killed by whites, a theory recounted in *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. In 1939, his mother had a mental breakdown and was confined to a mental institution, and the eight children were split up. After some years in juvenile institutions and foster homes, Malcolm was taken in by his elder half-sister, Ella, who lived in Boston. He wandered into menial occupations in Boston and later Harlem before taking up small-time street hustling and crimes, including pimping, selling marijuana, and burglary. He was introduced to the sect by his brothers Philbert and Reginald and was converted while serving a ten-year prison sentence in Massachusetts and dropped the "slave name" Little. While in prison, he rectified deficiencies in his education, starting his development as a brilliant debater and speaker. He won the respect of Elijah Muhammad; they had corresponded for several years before

13. On the demand for separate states or a return to Africa, see E. U. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism: A Search for an Identity in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 259-262. On the repudiation of American society and its values, see C. Eric Lincoln, *The Black Muslims in America*, rev. ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973), xxviii-xxix. On the secular and religious antecedents of the Muslims and the mysterious Fard, see Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism*, 33-45, *passim*. See also, Clifton E. Marsh, *From Black Muslims to Muslims: The Transition from Separatism to Islam, 1930-1980* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1984), 41-49, passim.

14. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism*, 288, 288, n. 72. The lawsuits are reported in the New York *Times*, 19 March 1961, 1, 46.

15. C. Eric Lincoln, *My Face Is Black* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), 87.

his release from prison in 1952, and in 1954 Muhammad appointed Malcolm X as the minister of the Harlem temple, then having only a handful of members but with great potential for recruiting more.[16]

A program, "The Hate That Hate Produced," telecast on a New York City station on July 10, 1959, propelled the Muslims and Malcolm X to national prominence. The program, "together with the activities of the Muslims themselves, gave rise to articles that same year" in newspapers and magazines.[17] One of those magazines was *Time*, which had investigated the sect more than a year and a half before the TV report, but "never scheduled the story."[18]

Time's first extended articles about the Black Muslims paid little attention to Malcolm X. Instead, most of its venom was reserved for the sect and Elijah Muhammad. The measure of the Nation of Islam could best be taken, the magazine argued implicitly, by the enemies it had made. *Time* listed those enemies: "the U.S.'s 100,000 true Moslems," who were outraged by a sect that perverted Islam's "centuries-old stand against racial discrimination"; the "respectable Negro civic leaders"; black organizations that were fearful that the Muslims would be attractive to "the man in the street who's getting his teeth kicked out"; and police officials, who fretted, even though Muslims had been "strictly law-abiding," that eventually something would "light the fuse."[19]

Muhammad was depicted as a demagogue and criminal: a "scowling, incendiary speaker," a "purveyor of this cold black hatred," a practitioner of "virulent anti-Americanism and anti-Semitism." His criminality was illustrated by particularly heinous offenses. The first was contributing to the delinquency of a minor, which smacked of sexually exploiting children; the second, no light matter when memories of the struggle against fascism remained vivid, was evading military service during World War II. *Time* added extra sting to the latter by implying that Muhammad hid like a coward from FBI agents who found "him rolled up in a carpet under" his mother's bed.[20]

While aimed at Elijah Muhammad, those accusations attached themselves to Malcolm X and other disciples of Muhammad. And Malcolm himself was used as a symbol in order to buttress the point that the sect was led by criminals

16. Malcolm X, with Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1987), 5-217, passim. On the early life of Malcolm X and the tragic loss of his father and mother, see Bruce Perry, *Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America* (Barrytown, N.Y.: Station Hill Press, 1991), 2-14,18-34.

17. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism*, 73; Jon A. Rosenraad, "Coverage in Six New York Daily Newspapers of Malcolm X and His Black Nationalist Movement: A Study" (M.A. thesis, Michigan State University, 1968), 9.

18. T. George Harris, *Time*'s Chicago bureau, to Ruth Mehrtens, *Time*'s New York headquarters, 5 March 1958. Box 19, File 4, T. George Harris papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison. A part-time *Time* correspondent "put in five or six solid days of reporting" on it. Ibid.

19. "The Black Supremacists," *Time*, 10 Aug. 1959, 25. *Time* identified the sect as Moslems; for consistency, the sect is identified as Black Muslims and Nation of Islam throughout.

20. Ibid. A black newspaper decried the use of "unadorned facts" by *Time*. One such fact was the charge of contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Actually, Muhammad had sought to set up parochial schools, and he and his followers refused to send their children to the public schools. That was his contribution to delinquency. *Pittsburgh Courier*, 24 Oct. 1959, 12, quoted in Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism*, 64.

who sought out their own kind. After getting out of prison, Muhammad "made a play for recruits among ex-convicts," *Time* reported. One recruit was "Malcolm X,...an ex-convict who has been arrested for larceny in two states."[21]

Malcolm X would soon attract far more attention than Elijah—strangely enough because journalists usually focus on the leader of a movement or organization. Malcolm, never higher than second in the Nation of Islam hierarchy, became the sect's most visible media figure. That development can be ascribed to Malcolm's charisma; to the fact that he lived and worked in New York City, the center of national press and broadcasting (Based in another city, Malcolm X almost certainly would not have attracted national media coverage); to the worsening health that forced Muhammad to increasingly spend his time in seclusion in a mansion in Phoenix. Consequently, it was not the prophet but the chief disciple who roamed "the nation holding press conferences and being the *official presence* wherever Muslims encountered problems with the authorities." Malcolm traveled among Muslim outposts, settling squabbles, "organizing new temples and addressing mass rallies" and student assemblies at "most major universities outside the South," and filling "the air waves with his beguiling jargon."[22]

Malcolm X emerged as a devil figure in *Time*'s coverage in the 1960s. A brief mention in 1960 put him in disreputable company: Fidel Castro. Castro was staying at a hotel in Harlem while in New York to make an appearance at the United Nations. Malcolm X led a "steady stream of visitors" (by *Time*'s account) who dropped in "to pay their respects" to the Cuban leader. An article in 1961 accorded Malcolm X a status almost equal to Muhammad's. It observed that much of the Muslims' recruiting was done in prisons. Muslim doctrines were denounced as racist and the sect's leaders were castigated for preaching "cold hatred."[23] The sect's disrepute was underscored by this passage:

> Some of the leaders of the Muslim movement have criminal records. Elijah Muhammad..., high priest of the Muslims, served three years for draft dodging in World War II. Malcolm X (né Little), leader of Harlem's Muslims, is a former pimp, who has been arrested for larceny in two states..."We've got converts in all the major prisons," brags Malcolm X. "And when those prisoners come out they'll be wonderful additions to our movement.Cowards don't go to jail. We'll rehabilitate these men and women, and they will march in the ranks."[24]

Rehabilitation—whether of Malcolm X or other Muslims—was denied as a possibility by *Time*. Essien-Udom pointed out that his criminal record was often

played up by the press. The impression given. . .is that converts

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21. "The Black Supremacists," 25.
22. Lincoln, *My Face is Black*, 101-102. The quoted material is from Louis E. Lomax, *When the Word Is Given* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1963), 94.
23. "Flight to Harlem," *Time*, 3 Oct. 1960, 16. Also in that steady stream were "Beatnik Poet Allen (*Howl*) Ginsburg, Columbia Professor C. Wright Mills and Left-Wing Poet Langston Hughes. *Time* sneered at "the whole Cuban crew" for "drinking its meal" at a United Nations dinner, and for using the services of prostitutes. Ibid. "Recruits Behind Bars," *Time*, 31 March 1961, 14.
24. "Recruits Behind Bars," 14.

> to the Nation [of Islam] come from extremely anti-social elements in Negro society. It completely misses the point that conversion has regenerated the moral character, whether or not the convert had an unsavory past. The dereliction and the extremeity of Minister Malcolm's past should rather be viewed as pointing up the life-saving values which he has thoroughly incorporated into his life.[25]

Malcolm X next appeared as a footnote—literally—to a tragic airline crash in 1962. A chartered Air France jet airplane crashed outside Paris, killing 130 passengers and crewmembers. Most of the passengers, who had had been on a cultural tour of Europe, were from Atlanta. *Time* used its verb of choice, "cried,"[26] to castigate Malcolm for his gleeful reaction to the deaths of those aboard the jet.

> *At a Los Angeles meeting of the Black Muslim organization...on the day of the crash, Leader "Malcolm X" cried: "I would like to announce a very beautiful thing that has happened...I got a wire from God today [laughter]. Wait, all right, well somebody came and told me that he really had answered our prayers over in France. He dropped an airplane out of the sky with over 120 white people on it because the Muslims believe in an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. But thanks to God, or Jehovah or Allah, we will continue to pray, and we hope that every day another plane falls out of the sky."[27]

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25. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism*, 100. In 1958, an estimated 400 converts to the Nation of Islam were prison inmates at institutions across the United States. Ibid., 192. Essien-Udom's study of the sect in the late 1950s and early 1960s found that the "'style of life' that the Muslims seem to appreciate and to which they aspire is thoroughly middle class." Ibid., 101, 104.

26. For other instances when *Time* used "cried" to denounce what it regarded as bigotry, demagoguery or semi-hysterical nonsense, see the following articles. "What Hath Orval Wrought," 23 Sept. 1957, 13 (The speaker was "Hungary's ruthless [Communist] Premier Janos Kadar"); "The Filibuster Before the Filibuster," 3 April 1964, 26 (Senator Richard Russell of Georgia "cried" that the 1964 civil rights bill attempted to enforce conformity of thought and action on" all Americans, including Muhammad Ali, who, as a Black Muslim, believed in separation of the races.); "The Youngest Ever," 23 Oct. 1964, 27 ("Bull" Connor, already infamous as the fire and police commissioner of Birmingham, "cried" that the Nobel Prize committee was "scraping the bottom of the barrel" when it selected Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., for the Nobel Peace Prize); "This Time, Things Changed," 10 July 1964, 27 (A "California rabble-rouser named Connie Lynch, . . . cried [while whipping up a mob during the St. Augustine civil rights campaign] 'I favor violence to preserve the white race. . . .Now, I grant you, some niggers are gonna get killed in the process, but when war's on, that's what happens'").

27. "The Cherry Orchard," *Time*, 15 June 1962, 23. Malcolm X was apparently sent to Los Angeles by Elijah Muhammad to end attacks on whites that that started after a Black Muslim, Ronald Stokes, was shot to death by a policeman. He defused the volatile situation there by assuring Muslims that "Allah would exact vengeance.") His announcement about the crash was thus delivered to "Muslims to who been waiting for Allah to avenge the killing of Ronald Stokes," some of whom were "believers who wanted to go to war over Stokes' death." On more than one occasion, Malcolm X defused potentially violent situations, but such achievements were

During the Birmingham civil rights campaign mounted by Martin Luther King in 1963, Malcolm X proved useful as a contrapuntal symbol when *Time* wished to make a point about King. King pressed ahead with his campaign over the objections, among others, of *Time* that he should await the accession to power of the relatively moderate leaders of a new city government. After black marchers, including school children, were brutally attacked by police officers using police dogs and clubs and by firemen employing powerful fire hoses, hundreds of demonstrations were staged across the nation. The outcry forced *Time* to reinterpret King.[28] No longer could he be the outsider who recklessly bulled his way into Birmingham without consulting local black leaders, as *Time* had maintained earlier. Thus *Time* portrayed King as a moderate, contradistinguishing Malcolm X and King:

> ...the Black Muslim movement within the U.S. Negro community took full recruiting advantage of the Birmingham riots. The Black Muslims do not seek integration; they want total separation of the races, with Negroes not only independent but, if possible, superior. Now Malcolm X, top Eastern torchbearer for the militant movement, could only sneer at...King's gospel of nonviolence. Said he: "The lesson of Birmingham is that the Negroes have lost their fear of the white man's reprisals and will react with violence, if provoked. This could happen anywhere in the country today."[29]

Lest readers somehow miss the point, *Time* supplied a linkage between bigots black and white. A white waitress in Birmingham drawled, ungrammatically, to a Northern customer: "'Honey, I sure hope the colored don't win. They've winned [sic] so much around the South. Why you go down and get on a bus, and a nigger's just liable to sit right down beside you. Oh, that's hurt Birmingham somethin' awful.'" With racism so evident, *Time* needed to add only this comment: "Neither Malcolm X nor the Birmingham waitress represents the majority of their races. But they do represent and symbolize two fixed positions: The Negro who looks with eagerness toward a militant solution, and the unyielding Southerner who hopes not to be further disturbed."[30]

That theme was revived at the end of August. *Time*, in a cover story on Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, listened to the angry black voices being raised following the Birmingham campaign. The NAACP was under fire from within and without the organization. "Some Negroes," *Time* observed, "furiously turned to such Negro nationalist groups as the Black

generally "lost on those who failed to distinguish between what he said and what he actually did." See Perry, *Malcolm*, 192-194, 207.

28. See Richard Lentz, *Symbols, the News Magazines, and Martin Luther King* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 75-94.

29. "Freedom – Now," *Time*, 17 May 1963, 25. See also, "At the Root of the Negro Problem is the Necessity of the White Man to Find a Way of Living with the Negro in Order to Live with Himself," *Time*, 17 May 1963, 26-27.

30. "Freedom – Now," 25. *Time* did not misrepresent the position of Malcolm X, who reacted caustically to the news from Birmingham: "Any man who puts his women and children on the front lines is a chump, not a champ." Lomax, *When the Word is Given*, 85.

Muslims, whose New York leader, Malcolm X, tells whites: 'The NAACP is a white man's concept of a black man's organization. Don't let any of those black integrationists fool you. What they really want is your woman." So familiar were such phrases, from the ravings of the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council, that *Time* did not even need to say that a black racist was echoing white racists.[31]

Malcolm X next emerged during the furor surrounding the conversion of Cassius Clay to the Nation of Islam. The boxer announced his conversion after winning the heavyweight title in 1964. Initially, *Time* mocked the conversion.

> Now Clay rummaged around in his bag of tricks. And what did he come up with? A white rabbit? No—a Black Muslim. Cassius used to be a Protestant. No longer. He had joined the militantly antiwhite Negro sect. "My religion is Islam," he said, "and I am proud of it...Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad claimed a share of the heavyweight title for himself. "White people wanted Liston to beat up and probably kill poor little Clay," said Muhammad. "But Allah and myself said no. This assured his victory." Was Cassius kidding? Nobody knew. Nobody ever knows with Cassius.[32]

Malcolm was not mentioned in that sports section story. He did appear the next week when *Time* reported appearances made by Muhammad Ali in New York City. As painted by *Time*, Ali was a ridiculous figure, a child in a hulking body. "Next stop for Cassius was the United Nations. 'I am champion of the whole world,' he announced grandly, 'and I want to meet all the people I am champion of.'" Delegates were eager to meet him and showered him with invitations to visit their countries. One, the Liberian Ambassador Christie W. Doe, said: "'We're proud of you. Come whenever you can.'" The champion's response, "'Thank you, sir. I have longed to go back home to Liberia," was mocked by *Time*. First, its article noted snidely that Ali was "the pride of Louisville" and then it reported a Louisville bumpkin's response to the sight of "an African delegate carrying the ornately carved stick of a tribal chieftain. 'Man,' breathed Cassius, pointing to the stick, 'I got to get me one of those.'"[33]

Malcolm X appeared as an Svengali figure. Grinning ominously, Malcolm appeared in a photograph with Ali and the Nigerian Ambassador S. O. Abedo. *Time* made it a point to establish that Malcolm X was calling the shots. Ali was "surrounded by his ubiquitous Black Muslim advisers (*wherever Cassius went, Malcolm X was sure to go*)." Its story implied that Ali was gullible. He had, after all, flunked "his preinduction psychological exam. *Not once, but twice.*"[34] [Emphasis added]

After the conversion of Ali, Malcolm severed his relationship with the Nation. Actually, he and Elijah Muhammad had been drifting toward separation for some months. A remark made by Malcolm after the assassination of President Kennedy started the estrangement. Three times Muhammad "warned

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31. "'The Awful Roar," *Time*, 30 Aug. 1963, 11-12.
32. "With Mouth and Magic," *Time*, 6 March 1964, 69.
33. "Cassius X," *Time*, 13 March 1964, 78. The boxer had not yet changed his name, but to avoid confusion Muhammad Ali is used.
34. Ibid.

Malcolm to keep quiet about the death of President Kennedy. In the end Malcolm spoke out in an act of deliberate insubordination." Suspended for ninety days, Malcolm was at first contrite in public. Malcolm announced his break with the Nation of Islam on March 8, 1964, and on March 12, the formation of his own organization, the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated. While praising Muhammad, Malcolm also held out an olive branch to black leaders, asking them to join him in "united efforts toward solving the unending hurt that is being done daily to our people here in America."[35]

Curiously, when Malcolm quit the Muslims, it did not improve his standing with *Time*. The magazine shared the concern of "some of the staunchest friends of civil rights about excesses in the Negro revolution"—and about white backlash. Specific causes of *Time*'s unrest included a proposal to stall vehicles driven by black demonstrators on the approaches to the New York World's Fair in order to disrupt the Fair and the unexpected and alarmingly large vote for Alabama Governor George Wallace in the Wisconsin presidential primary. "Causing still more uneasiness," *Time* reported, "was the creation last week of a new national civil rights committee. . ., which includes such *extremists as the Black Nationalists' Malcolm X,* Harlem Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Cambridge, Maryland's Gloria Richardson, and the Reverend Milton Galamison, *zealot* leader of New York's school boycotts."[36] [Emphasis added] No mistaking the message: Malcolm X was joining other extremists in order to cause trouble.

Though not instigated by Malcolm X, considerable trouble had already been made, and more was expected. The year 1964 was one of deepening crisis. Riots broke out in Harlem and Rochester; seven persons died, more than 500 others were injured, and more than 1,500 arrests were made. Later in the summer, civil disorders erupted in Jersey City, Elizabeth, and Paterson, New Jersey, Dixmoor, Illinois, and in Philadelphia. The black revolt spreading across America disconcerted and frightened many whites, leading to a sense of crisis that *Time* captured in the question of a "perplexed" housewife: "'What do [blacks] want? Why don't they stop?'" In that unsettled season, *Time* found "something terrifying about the discovery that [racial violence] could happen on a large scale in the North."[37]

The first time it occurred on a large scale was in Harlem, on July 18-21. For some weeks, racial tensions had been growing in Harlem; a number of whites had been assaulted by black gangs, and four whites had been murdered, for motives that police described as racial. After a 15-year-old black boy was shot to death by a white policeman on July 16, the rioting started. *Time* published a post-riot cover story that proclaimed that Harlem was being "used by its leaders." Among the exploiters, said *Time*, was Malcolm X. He and other black nationalists were excoriated as charlatans, "spiritual heirs of that flamboyant fake Marcus Garvey," who "preach 'buy black,' then get drunk on whisky from a white man's store."[38]

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35. Lincoln, *My Face Is Black,* 101-102, 104.
36. "The Backlash," *Time,* 24 April 1964, 18.
37. "The Talk is Race," *Time*, 7 Aug. 1964, 17. On the civil disorders, see Keesing's Research Report No. 4, *Race Relations in the USA, 1954-68*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), 166-168. There were, as well, serious episodes of white mob violence in the South, especially in St. Augustine, Florida, during the summer of 1964.
38. On the rioting in Harlem, see *Race Relations in the USA,* 166-167. "No Place

After the riots of the summer, the major black leaders—King, Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph, the leading black unionist, and Whitney Young of the National Urban League—called for a moratorium on demonstrations until after the 1964 presidential election, lest white backlash be stirred up. Some black leaders and organizations objected.[39] *Time* denounced those who refused to curtail demonstrations as the more "aggressive civil rights leaders." Malcolm X, his extremism raised a notch, represented "the worse kind of element." He was then attending a conference of the Organization of African Unity in July. *Time* sneered: "Black Nationalist Leader Malcolm X *had his say all the way from Cairo,* where he showed up as a *self-appointed* delegate to a Pan-African conference." The magazine was outraged by what he said at this, of all times; he counseled blacks to "*demand 'an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life.'*" Because of the "ambitions of some Negro spokesmen," *Time* snapped, "*responsible* Negro leaders face serious problems trying to maintain peace."[40] [Emphasis added]

What *Time* did not print was as important as what it published. *Time* did not report, for example, that Malcolm X had repudiated hatred of whites. He attributed that change of heart to the influence of Islamic principles and to contact with light- and dark-skinned followers of Islam.[41] Speaking in Chicago in May, he said:

> My pilgrimage to Mecca...served to convince me that perhaps American whites can be cured of the rampant racism which is consuming them and about to destroy this country. In the future, I intend to be careful not to sentence anyone who has not been proven guilty. I am not a racist and do not subscribe to any of the tenets of racism.[42]

Perhaps *Time* had missed that and other public utterances by Malcolm X to the same effect. It could scarcely have missed the fact that, self-appointed or not, Malcolm X had been seated as an official observer by the Organization of African Unity at its conference. He also was invited to submit to the delegates a memorandum; his eight-page missive solicited "their support of the Negro struggle in the United States and their help in bringing the plight of the American Negro before the United Nations." The statement read, in part: "[I]f

Like Home," *Time*, 31 July 1964, 11.

39. David L. Lewis, *King: A Biography*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 249-250.

40. "The Talk is Race," *Time*, 7 Aug. 1964, 18. *Time* published a misleading excerpt. Malcolm X said: "We are well aware that our future efforts to defend ourselves by retaliating–by meeting violence with violence, eye for eye and tooth for tooth–could create the type of racial violence in America that could easily escalate into a violent, world-wide, bloody race war. In the interests of world peace and security, we beseech the heads of the independent African states to recommend an immediate investigation into our problem by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights." George Breitman, ed., *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements* (New York: Grove Press, 1965), 77.

41. Perry argues that Malcolm X's renunciation of racist doctrines began much earlier: "His trip to Mecca had enabled him to abandon the white devil theory without acknowledging that he had privately discarded it years earlier." Perry, *Malcolm*, 204-205, 264, 272.

42. Breitman, *Malcolm X Speaks*, 58.

South African racism is not a domestic issue, then American racism also is not a *domestic* issue."[43]

As Malcolm X continued his efforts abroad, approaching African nations in order to secure their help in bringing before the United Nations questions of human rights abuses in the United States, the State Department and the FBI watched with concern or suspicion.[44] His attempt to internationalize the black struggle was one of his major undertakings, but it was not one to which *Time* accorded attention, respectful or otherwise. *Time* continued to rebuke Malcolm X, labeling him as a self-serving con artist. Malcolm X, the writers James Baldwin and LeRoi Jones "and any number of other writers and seers" argue that "the U. S. Negro is consumed with hatred of whites and is on the verge of doing some foul and desperate deed." The magazine welcomed a "timely rebuttal of this extravagant thesis" by the black novelist Ralph Ellison: "'What an easy con-game for ambitious, publicity-hungry Negroes this stance of "militancy" has become.'"[45]

In February of 1965, Malcolm X made a trip to Selma, Alabama, where King was conducting a voting rights campaign. (It was not King but the increasingly radical Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee that invited Malcolm X to Selma; Malcolm's statements calling for black self-defense, racial pride, and Pan-Africanism, were being cited with growing favor in SNCC.) King was attempting to create a crisis that would force passage of voting rights legislation; as he said three years later, "our government does not correct a race problem until it is confronted directly and dramatically." King got his crisis on Sunday, March 7. Demonstrators were brutally assaulted by highway patrolmen and sheriff's deputies during a march. The subsequent national and international outcry assured the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.[46]

Before Bloody Sunday, Malcolm spoke to an audience of about 500 persons in Selma. He "cried" (that signal that *Time* was busily denouncing the speaker) this message: "'The white man should thank God that Dr. King is holding his people in check, because there are others who don't feel that way, and there are other ways to obtain their ends.' If King's tactics failed, Malcolm

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43 . Ibid., 72, 75-76.

44. Ibid., 87. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover sent a letter to the special agent in charge of the bureau's New York City office. Hoover enclosed a letter from Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley about the Logan Act, which prohibited contact by American citizens with foreign governments or officers "in relation to any disputes or controversies with the United States, or to defeat the measures of the United States." Hoover ordered the special agent "to review your file on [Malcolm X] beginning with his first departure on foreign travel for any information which may tend to show a violation of the above-mentioned statute. This request should also be kept in mind during future investigation of the subject." Hoover to SAC, New York City, 11 Sept. 1964. FBI Surveillance File on Malcolm X, (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1978) Reel 2, 31 March 1964 to 1971 (microfilm), n.p.

45. "The Unferocious Negro," *Time*, 6 Nov. 1964, 110. The article was a review of Ellison's essays, collected in *Shadow & Act* (New York: Random House, 1964).

46. On SNCC and Malcolm X, see Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 134-136. The quotation appears in King to "SCLC supporters," 15 Feb. 1968, Box 6, File 29, Mississippi Valley Collection, Memphis State University. On the Selma campaign, see Charles E. Fager, *Selma, 1965* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), 34, and David J. Garrow, *Protest at Selma: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Voting Rights Act of 1965* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 34.

threatened, those 'other ways' will be tried." King himself was relieved of responsibility for what Malcolm said or did in Selma. While King's efforts were working against white bigots, *Time* reported, "he faced trouble from extremist Northern Negroes"—Malcolm X, obviously—and pointed out that King was incarcerated when Malcolm X uttered that threat. [47]

After he returned from Selma, the hostility between Malcolm and the Muslims worsened. Malcolm denounced Elijah Muhammad as a religious faker and accused him of fathering children out of wedlock. Death threats were telephoned to police, and to his home and his organization, renamed the Organization of Afro-American Unity. He accused the Muslims of being behind the threats and permitted himself to be photographed holding a rifle that he said he kept ready for any assassination attempt. His home was firebombed on the morning of February 14. The assassination that he had predicted came on February 21, 1965. Malcolm X had just started an address to a rally organized by the OAAU. A diversion caught the attention of his bodyguards, and three men began firing the revolver and shotgun rounds that killed him.[48] Three black men, all with ties to the Black Muslims, were arrested and later convicted of the murder.

Time's report of the assassination included the most savage denunciation of Malcolm X. Photographs set the tone. Featured prominently above the headline were front and side police mug shots of Malcolm X. *Time* used photographs taken in 1944—as if one of the most prominent black leaders in the United States had not had his picture taken by photojournalists in two decades. The tone was picked up and extended in the lead paragraph:

> Malcolm X had been a pimp, a cocaine addict and a thief. He was an unashamed demagogue. His gospel was hatred: "Your little babies will get polio!" he cried to the "white devils." His creed was violence: "If ballots won't work, bullets will."[49]

Time lingered over the details of Malcolm's criminal past:

> But an honest dollar was not for Malcolm Little. He was caught pimping on the side and fired. He thereupon turned himself into a full-time hustler whose specialities were fixing up white men with Negro whores and Negro men with white whores. He peddled marijuana, became a cocaine addict and, to satisfy his $20-a-day craving, took to burglary. In 1946 he wound up with a

47. "Victory in Jail," *Time*, 12 Feb. 1965, 16. Malcolm's visit was reported by FBI agents. See "Malcolm X Little also known as Malcolm X," 8 Feb. 1965, FBI Surveillance File on Malcolm X, Reel 2 (microfilm), n.p. Illustrative of the changing thinking of Malcolm X was his remark to King's wife. King recalled that Malcolm X, while in Selma, "said some pretty passionate things against me. . . .But afterwards he took my wife aside, and said he thought he could help me more by attacking me than praising me. He thought it would make it easier for me in the long run." Quoted in David Halberstam, "When 'Civil Rights' and 'Peace' Join Forces," in C. Eric Lincoln, ed., *Martin Luther King, Jr.: A Profile* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1970), 211. See also, Harris Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings: Making Sense of the Sixties* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1980), 180.

48. Alex Haley, "Epilogue," *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, 411-437.

49. "Death and Transfiguration," *Time*, 5 March 1965, 23.

ten-year prison sentence in Boston.[50]

Waved away was any possibility that Malcolm X had reformed himself. *Time* dismissed Malcolm's explanation about his criminal activities. He "*shrugged off* his sordid past on the ground that 'it was all done when I was part of the white man's Christian world.'"[51] [Emphasis added] A criminal Malcolm X had been and a criminal he remained at his death—that was the thrust of the photos and text.

After conceding the undeniable, that Malcolm X was a "spell-binding speaker," *Time* added that he "was also a savage speaker." Two passages made the point dramatically. In the first, Malcolm X seemed to welcome the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963. "Cried he: 'Being an old farm boy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad.'" The remark was accurately quoted but bereft of context. The New York *Times* provided a fairly complete context, indicating that the remark was in response to a question. More critical was that the *Times* permitted Malcolm X to imply that white violence produced "the murders of Patrice Lumumba, Congo leader, of Medgar Evers, civil rights leader, and of the Negro girls bombed [in 1963] in a Birmingham church" and had also led to Kennedy's assassination.[52]

The magazine also revived a remark about another tragedy—as if there had been no change in the man between 1962 and 1965:

> After the 1962 plane crash in France that killed 121 whites from Georgia, he rose before a Los Angeles audience and said: "I would like to announce a beautiful thing that has happened. I got a wire from God today. He really answered our prayers over in France. He dropped an airplane out of the sky with over 120 white people on it...We will continue to pray and we hope that every day another plane falls out of the sky."[53]

Time spurned indignantly attempts by some black leaders to sanctify Malcolm X as a "'brilliant'" leader whose "death...was a setback to the civil rights movement." Actually, it maintained, "Malcolm X—in life and in death—was a disaster to the civil rights movement" and his death was the result of murderous quarrels within a squalid gang of thugs.[54] Nor did those quarrels die with Malcolm X, *Time* maintained later. It reported that 300 law enforcement agents were stationed at a prize fight between Muhammad Ali and Sonny Liston because the authorities were "spooked by reports that followers of the late Malcolm X planned to avenge their leader's death by assassinating"Ali.[55]

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50. Ibid., 24.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid. *New York Times,* 2 Dec. 1963, 21. (I am indebted for this interpretation to Roosenraad, "Coverage in Six Daily New York Newspapers of Malcolm X," 27.)
53. "Death and Transfiguration," 24.
54. Ibid., 23. *Time* also continued to criticize the Nation of Islam in following years. See, e. g., "The New Racism," *Time*, 1 July 1966, 11, "Simmering Symptoms," *Time*, 12 Aug. 1966, 13, and "The Other 97 Percent," *Time*, 11 Aug. 1967, 12.
55. "Theater of the Absurd," *Time*, 4 June 1965, 68. Later, *Time* described Malcolm X as the "militant Negro Leader" when reporting that his widow gave birth to two

Two years later, *Time* put Malcolm X in radical company. The black nationalist magazine *Liberator*, *Time* observed, had, since its founding in 1960, passed from "white-baiting. . .to the baiting of moderate Negroes, and finally to Jew-baiting." The hatred held by its editor Dan Watts "for whites as well as for many of his fellow Negroes is apparently inexhaustible. On the other hand, his love knows no bounds for the likes of Mao Tse-tung, Malcolm X, Gamal Abdel Nasser, and Adam Clayton Powell." [56]

Five months later, Malcolm X was put in equally radical company. An article reported the assassination of George Lincoln Rockwell, the American Nazi Führer, who entertained fantasies such as "shipping 20 million American Negroes to Africa and gassing Jews after a grateful nation elected him President in 1972. After the economic depression that Rockwell predicted for 1969, the U.S. would clamor for 'a white leader with the guts of a Malcolm X.' " *Time* was not likely to be impressed by words of praise for Malcolm X from Rockwell, whom it damned with venomous contempt. "Like his idol Adolf Schicklgruber, [Rockwell] was an unsuccessful painter. His "risible handful of strutting, beswastikaed American Nazi Party bullyboys, agape at their Führer's harangues of hate, made even the sneering epithet 'Halfpenny Hitler' sound overpriced."[57]

"The Beatification of Malcolm X," as *Time* styled the phenomenon, attracted the attention of the magazine in 1968. At about the same date that *Time* was muttering about that movement in black America, two motion-picture companies, Columbia and 20th Century-Fox were "rushing plans for major films" based on Malcolm X's life. A few months later, requests that a Brooklyn public housing project be named for Malcolm X were turned down by the New York City Housing Authority, but his advocates pressed ahead with a name-changing ceremony despite the refusal.[58]

Malcolm X had been bad enough, *Time* said implicitly, but his apostles, who were attempting to turn the anniversary of his assassination into a day of memorial, "made their prophet's own speeches seem restrained by comparison." Some of the disciples desired peaceful change, *Time* conceded, but it regarded as more typical those who advocated violence or attacked white America rhetorically. Among the latter was the novelist James Baldwin, who called "the U.S. 'the Fourth Reich'"; among the former was "a Mau Mau guerrilla, toting a machete [who] bellowed: 'We'll cut off whitey's head.'" Their inspiration, at whom *Time* sneered as "the *uhuru* guru," was presented in a similar way. A mural at one ceremony showed Malcolm X "'ripping the whiteness from the faces of black people who are discovering their own beauty,' while his other hand spat fire at 'the symbols of white America—the flag, the White House, and the false God of Christianity as it is now practiced.'"[59]

Later in 1968, Malcolm X was no less radical. In a brief, somewhat

twin girls. "Milestones," 8 Oct. 1965, 110.

56. "Black Anti-Semitism," *Time*, 17 March 1967, 51. See also, "Spreading Fire," *Time*, 28 July 1967, 9-10.

57. "Spreading Fire," *Time*, 28 July 1967, 9-10.

58. See *New York Times*, 8 March 1968, 49; 13 July 1968, 29, 53.

59. "The Beatification of Malcolm X," *Time*, 1 March 1968, 16. Another radical disciple mentioned in a later story was Eldridge Cleaver, author of *Soul on Ice*, who, after 12 years in California prisons, was " 'a full-time revolutionary in the struggle for black liberation in America.' " "The Funky Facts of Life," *Time*, 5 April 1968, 114.

skewed history of the civil rights movement, *Time* maintained that it was "Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael [who] decided that the Negro should no longer obey The Man's timetable or believe in his good will. They echoed Isaiah: 'What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces and grind the faces of the poor?'" Biblical quotations notwithstanding, *Time* had not abandoned its theme—as was apparent in an education report two weeks later about the firing of "a Negro militant" who was the director of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Afro-American Student Center at New York University. The offense was that the director, John F. Hatchett had "claimed that 'anti-black Jews' dominated the New York City public schools, and charged that Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey were 'racist bastards.'" That was only the latest of Hatchett's "errors."

> The fact that Hatchett had been fired as a substitute teacher in the New York City schools for taking his sixth-grade class to a Black Power rally in memory of Malcolm X did not unduly alarm N. Y. U. It considered Hatchett's writings on Afro-American culture and religion sound *enough to outweigh that error.* [Emphasis added][60]

Time's symbolic incorporation of Malcolm X started in 1969. It accompanied (and to some extent grew out of) significant changes in the editorial leadership of *Time* that occurred in the spring of 1968. The magazine had been directed since 1960 by Otto Fuerbringer, the autocratic managing editor. Fuerbringer's disapproval meant that the subject seldom sullied the pages of *Time*. "A review of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X?* A cover story on Ralph Nader? Another time. The reasons were usually obvious, but Fuerbringer seldom thought it necessary to explain. To the staff he was 'The Iron Chancellor.'" Henry Anatole Grunwald was moved into the powerful managing editorship in May of 1968; it was a move, wrote David Halberstam, that was designed to "edge the magazine more toward the center," to tone down its ideology and "to make it fairer within that viewpoint."[61]

There was an urgent reason to move *Time* back toward the center: It was feeling on its neck the breath of *Newsweek*. Through most of the 1960s, *Newsweek* struggled to close the gap with *Time*. *Newsweek* had won a reputation as the new hot "book," as magazines are called in the industry, and—most disconcerting of all—*Newsweek* was luring advertising pages away from *Time*. Grunwald was a known quantity; he began his career with the magazine in 1944 as a part-time copy boy, and in 1951, at age 28, became the magazine's youngest senior editor."[62] Grunwald could be counted on to make the needed changes without disrupting *Time* or its relationship with readers unduly.

What was at stake was not simply higher ad revenues or more readers, but

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60. "Response to Destruction," *Time*, 18 Oct. 1968, 61.

61. Richard Pollack, *"Time*: After Luce," *Harper's*, July, 1969, 43; David Halberstam, *The Powers That Be* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 549.

62. Pollack, *"Time*: After Luce," 44. See also, Paul Wilkes, "*Time* vs. *Newsweek*," *New York*, 16 June 1969, 32-38. According to Chris Welles, in 1969, *Time*'s ad pages had been declining for four straight years while *Newsweek*'s had been climbing sharply. "*Newsweek* (a Fact) Is the New Hot Book (an Opinion)," *Esquire*, November, 1969, 152. On Grunwald, who left the managing editorship (though not Time Inc.) in 1977, see Ralph P. Davidson, "A Letter from the Publisher," *Time*, 10 Oct. 1977, 7.

the future, represented by young, well-educated readers. *Newsweek* editor Osborn Elliott laid out the terms of the struggle in a memorandum that pointed out that, in 1964, a record 2,300,000 students would be in college (a figure that would almost triple in a decade's time) and they were "the people who will *count* in the '70s,'" the most desirable—to advertisers—of readers. *Newsweek* tried to show *Time* was stuffy and behind the times, while building an image for itself of being ahead of the news.[63]

Time was aware of what was at stake. In 1970, it claimed that "more than three million students read *Time* every week," and it hired a thousand students on campuses around the world to sell subscriptions to those readers. The magazine also began, under Grunwald's editorship, to move away from stories that tended to "display a rather smug adult superiority," that "scolded young people for their childish shenanigans, long hair, weird clothes, juvenile emotionalism, and illogical criticisms of their parents."[64] Illustrative of the change was an article in 1970 that bore the headline, "When the Young Teach and the Old Learn." It reported on the estrangement of middle- and upper-class Americans (*Time*'s target audience) from their children and advised parents that they could not

> re-establish their own moral authority merely through laying down the law by fiat. The troubled parents of troubled children have only one real choice: listen...[L]istening pays—especially in an era when rapid social change is creating roughly one new U.S. generation every five years.[65]

Those new generations of *Time* readers, black and white, were being exposed, many almost as a matter of course, to Malcolm X, through assigned readings of his *Autobiography* in classes at "schools and colleges all over the U.S." One measure of that readership was *Time*'s report in 1970 that the *Autobiography* "has already sold 1.2 million copies."[66] As early as 1969, the New York *Times* noted that

> Malcolm...has become something of a legend to youths, many of whom were too young to have known or have seen him alive...He became a hero because...he was the first man they heard who effectively challenged white America.[67]

Making Malcolm X an icon, for the most part, were the black students who led campaigns to celebrate his life, although whites sometimes took part.

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63. Osborn Elliott, *The World of Oz* (New York: Viking Press, 1980), 50-51, 56.
64. On college students who read *Time*, see Henry Luce, III, "A Letter from the Publisher," *Time*, 23 Feb. 1970, 13. The observation is from Welles, "*Newsweek* (a Fact)," 242.
65. "When the Young Teach and the Old Learn," *Time*, 17 Aug. 1970, 36.
66. "Malcolm X: History as Hope," *Time*, 23 Feb. 1970, 90. *Time* offered different statistics at different times. In late 1969, its estimate of sales was "close to two million copies." See "One Week: The Literary Overflow," *Time*, 24 Oct. 1969, 110. Eight years later, *Time* estimated *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* had sold six million copies since its publication. For purposes of this article, the important point is what *Time perceived* the sales to be, not the accuracy of its perceptions.
67. New York *Times*, 22 Feb. 1969, 22.

On the fourth anniversary of his death, black high school students sponsored eight memorial services that were held in all but one borough of New York City. An unspecified number of whites attended services. About 600 high school students, half of them white, took part in April in a demonstration for school busing and observance of the birthdays of King and Malcolm X in Newburgh, New York. In Chicago, Crane College was renamed Malcolm X College, and 200 students at the University of Oregon conducted a protest demonstration against the university's refusal to cancel classes during a memorial observance in honor of Malcolm.[68]

The change in editorial policy about Malcolm X was far from the only change in editorial direction. *Time* watchers saw others. One was a cover story on Robert F. Kennedy, written before his assassination, which offered "an eminently fair appraisal" of Kennedy. More startling was a special supplement in January of 1969 in which *Time*, once the most hawkish of journals, forced itself to concede that the Vietnam war was "'a relative failure'...and in the weeks that followed, the magazine, like a magician switching birds in the middle of his act, began pulling more and more doves out of its editorial hat."[69] *Time*'s editorial policy on Malcolm X emerged, more slowly and in contradictory fashion, the following month. Two stories with brief references to Malcolm X sent out mixed signals. In the first, *Time* permitted a black Catholic high school principal, the builder of pride and responsibility among his charges, to associate Malcolm X and King as co-equal symbols; he suggested that the dates of their deaths were appropriate holidays for students. Two weeks later, by contrast, Malcolm X was associated with black radicalism. Black students seized part of the administration building at Duke University and "dubbed it 'the Malcolm X Liberation School.'" That incident was seen as part of a pattern by *Time*, which complained that black students and their white sympathizers in Wisconsin, North Carolina, New York, and Illinois had provoked "a spate of violent clashes with authorities..."[70]

Nudging the symbolic incorporation of Malcolm X into motion was an essay that examined "The Future of Black Leadership." While citing Malcolm X's past "as a Harlem hustler," *Time* provided an exculpatory phrase "early career," distinguishing the reformed man from the criminal.[71] Furthermore, the magazine had already linked Malcolm X as the "apostle of the unchurched" to King as the "genius of the civil rights movement," musing about the differences they might have made in the black movement had they lived. "According to King's assistant, Wyatt Tee Walker: 'Their deaths set back our struggle by 25 years.'"[72] Five years before, *Time* had sputtered with outrage at the mere suggestion, advanced by King and other black leaders, that Malcolm X had been a brilliant advocate whose murder was a setback to the black movement. Now, it was willing to grant Malcolm X something close to equal status with King as

68. See, respectively, *New York Times*, 22 Feb. 1969, 22; 1 April 1969, 41; 7 Sept. 1969, 45; 21 Feb. 1969, 30.

69 . Pollack, *"Time*: After Luce," 46, 48-49.

70. See, respectively, "Daddy and the Family," *Time*, 7 Feb. 1969, 70, and "Spring of Discontent," *Time*, 21 Feb. 1969, 36.

71. The same editorial tactic marks a brief reference to a character in a John Updike novel who was "a skinny black radical..., a curious combination of Flip Wilson, Rap Brown, and *early* Malcolm X." [Emphasis added] R. Z. Sheppard, "Cabbage Moon," *Time*, 15 Nov. 1971, 89.

72. "The Future of Black Leadership," *Time*, 4 April 1969, 29-30.

a black leader.

Some contradictory signals did follow that essay on black leadership. Malcolm X was associated symbolically with black violence and radicalism. One story reported that his former bodyguard headed the "Harlem Mau Maus" and had been critically wounded in the warring among factions of black extremists in New York City. A second story associated him symbolically with three of the most threatening figures from the black movement of the late 1960s: "'We lack a national figure like Stokely Carmichael.' Rap Brown is in jail, Eldridge Cleaver is in exile, and Malcolm X is dead." Two paragraphs later, however, *Time* took pains to make it appear that Malcolm X was sponsoring another message—keep the peace. It reported, at the expense of creating a contorted writing problem, that "the word has passed on what Malcolm X called 'the wire,' the black grapevine: 'Cool it.' The internal sanctions of the ghetto now work against spontaneous combustion."[73]

Time's incorporation of Malcolm X took final form in an article that purported to be a review of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* and two other books about him.[74] The article mimicked the form of a *Time* review, it appeared in the magazine's Books section—and was not simply a book review. To begin, only 18 lines of the article's 245 lines referred to any of the three books supposedly being reviewed, and one of the three books had already had a brief and favorable mention several months before. It was not *Time*'s practice to resurrect old books for review (The *Autobiography* was five years old by 1970.) Indeed, the magazine had space to review no more than a few hundred of the 5,000 to 6,000 books that publishers sent it each year. Nor had *Time* discovered a neglected classic—except one *it* had neglected. The *Autobiography* had been reviewed by some of the most prestigious magazines and newspapers in the United States five years earlier, including archrival *Newsweek*.[75] In short, *Time*'s "review" was a *sotto voce* notice that it would be taking a new editorial direction when it came to Malcolm X—a not unknown phenomenon for the Books section, which sometimes was "used to support the political views of the magazine."[76]

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73. "Guerrilla Summer?" *Time*, 27 June 1969, 16; "Build, Baby, Build: Why the Summer Was Quiet," *Time*, 12 Sept. 1969, 17. The latter story could have simply referred to the black grapevine, a term that, since it was accessible to almost all readers, required no explanation. If a reference to "the wire" was necessary to provide journalistic "color," there was no necessity to explain that Malcolm X called the black grapevine "the wire."

74. The other works were Archie Epps, ed., *The Speeches of Malcolm X at Harvard* (New York: William Morrow, 1969), and John Henrik Clarke, ed., *Malcolm X: The Man and His Times* (New York: Macmillan, 1969).

75. In November and December of 1965, reviews of the *Autobiography* were published by the *New Yorker, Saturday Review, Nation, Newsweek, New York Review of Books, Atlantic,* and *Commonweal.* Also reviewing the book in the same period were the New York *Times,* the Washington *Post,* the *Christian Science Monitor,* and the New York *Post.* See Lenwood G. Davis, with the assistance of Marsha L. Moore (comps.) *Malcolm X: A Selected Bibliography* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1984), 124-126; Timothy V. Johnson (comp.), *Malcolm X: A Comprehensive Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986), 179-180. Estimates of the numbers of books sent to *Time* appear in "One Week: The Literary Overflow," 24 Oct. 1969, 108, and Ralph P. Davidson, "A Letter from the Publisher," *Time,* 10 Dec. 1973, 2.

76. Joseph Epstein, "Henry Luce and His Time," *Commentary*, November, 1967, 43.

Time put a "new" Malcolm X in its lead paragraph:

> He was assassinated five years ago this week. Since then, assorted parks, streets, and ghetto playgrounds have been named after him. His bespectacled face, ballooned to twice life-size, gazes owlishly from the walls of innumerable schools and youth clubs. Though he is sometimes described as an apostate and a monster, these days he is more often invoked, especially by young whites and blacks, as a martyr in the cause of brotherhood, and even a kind of saint.[77]

The devil figure of the earlier reports of *Time* was altered beyond recognition in 1970. Even visually, Malcolm X underwent a transfiguration. A photograph used with the article showed an intense Malcolm X, whose gaze was piercing but not threatening. The anonymous reviewer noted in a key passage:

> In retrospect, what seems most remarkable was the range of his intellectual change and growth. The final phase of that growth—marked by his separation from the Black Muslim movement and the founding of the Organization of Afro-American Unity—had only begun when he was shot down. Yet his last plan to start working with all civil rights and human rights groups in the U.S. shows how far beyond raw appeals to violence and references to 'blue-eyed white devils' Malcolm X actually went.[78]

The review recapitulated sympathetically his early life—"blighted by the murder of his father," the loss of his mother committed to a mental institution, rejection by a white teacher who advised him to study carpentry, not the impractical (for bright but poor black students) profession of law. The review recounted the details of his criminal past. Unlike previous stories, most notably its 1965 article about his death, *Time* stated that Malcolm X had made a "dramatic conversion" in prison, where he "reformed his life, began copying the dictionary to improve his reading and writing, and became a disciple of Black Muslim Leader Elijah Muhammad."[79]

The article dismissed Black Muslim theology as "'sheer absurdity.'" In so doing, *Time* raised the possibility that Malcolm X was a hypocrite or insane. That was not *Time*'s point. This was: "the one overwhelming characteristic of Malcolm X's thought, [was] his integration of history, religion, and mythology, and his profound and necessary sense of history's possibilities as a man-created aid to faith and policy." Moreover, it seemed, other faiths were founded on no firmer foundations. The cycle predicted by Fard, the sect's mysterious founder,

Epstein notes, for example, "a recent review of *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell* turned out to be little more than an attack on Russell's present politics." Ibid. Reviews in *Time* during this period cannot be regarded merely as *individual* criticism. Not until mid-1970, did *Time* even have its "cultural criticism, the *Time* Essay, and, occasionally, certain other stories. . .signed by the authors." Even then, *Time* continued to cling to its notion of collective responsibility for what it published. Henry Grunwald, "A Letter from the Publisher," *Time*, 13 July 1970, 3.

77. "Malcolm X: History as Hope," *Time*, 23 Feb. 1970, 88.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.

"is hardly more farfetched than the mythology of Marxism, which also explains past horrors, justifies present conflict, and assumes that the story will end in peaceful victory—when the state shall wither away." Even Christianity, *Time* conceded, "offers similar encouragements." Finally, even if Malcolm X *had* espoused absurd doctrines, he had already undergone a conversion, abandoning the doctrines of white hatred that he had preached as a Black Muslim; his "famous voyage to Mecca. . .broadened his concept of history to include the real world of Islam with its possibilities of world brotherhood."[80]

The most startling justification of Malcolm X came in the last paragraph. "Extremist in many ways, Malcolm X was most effectively extreme in sheer impatience. In his view, as one of his 'blue-eyed' fellow citizens once remarked in another connection, 'Extremism in the cause of justice is no vice.'"[81] Thus were joined as consanguineous symbols the black radical prophet Malcolm X and the former Republican presidential candidate, Senator Barry Goldwater.

Two years later, a review of the film *Malcolm X* continued the incorporation. While labeled "implacable," he was far from the devil figure of 1965. Now Malcolm X appeared as an "implacable crusader for black dignity." No police mug shots on this occasion: a somber, gaunt, almost ascetic figure appeared in an accompanying photograph. Most of the early details of his life were passed over while the reviewer took up "the most fascinating part of the film." This was more or less what *Time* had denied in 1965 *could* have happened: the transformation of Malcolm X from "star preacher for Elijah Muhammad to independent political figure." The contrast was drawn this way:

> We see Malcolm on street corners, fervently laying down the Black Muslim gospel of mumbo-jumbo racism, castigating the "palefaces" and "white devils" and attracting the angriest, most disaffected of blacks with his unyielding insistence on racial pride. Then we watch a rift develop between Malcolm and Elijah,
> ...
> [W]e are shown Malcolm on his 1964 pilgrimage to Mecca, a trip that would cause him to revise his feelings about separatism and the supposed inherent evil of white people. Now Malcolm, having entirely broken with Elijah, maintained that "there are only good and bad human beings."[82]

That article essentially set in place the incorporation of Malcolm X, but the beatification of him as a secular saint continued to progress. As a biographer wrote,

> suddenly, people in ghetto storefronts and black student unions were saying "St. Malcolm" and meaning it. Little kids in Harlem and Hough and Watts wore gold Malcolm X sweatshirts and Malcolm X buttons that said "OUR SHINING BLACK PRINCE." Black college students put on festivals on his

80. Ibid., 88, 90.
81. Ibid., 90.
82. Jay Cocks, "Historical Primer," *Time,* 12 June 1972, 62. The review knocks down, as decisively as possible, theories that Malcolm X had been assassinated at the instigation of a government agency or by whites. "No one was ready to believe that a prophet might have been killed by his own people." Ibid.

> birthday. . . A ghetto school in Philadelphia changed its name *de facto* from Benjamin Franklin to Malcolm X High, in defiance of local laws requiring heroes to be long and safely dead before their names get engraved over schoolhouse doors. There was a Malcolm X Democratic Club in Harlem, a Malcolm X Association in the military, a Malcolm X Center in nearly every inner city, a Malcolm X soul-food restaurant with a menu full of pork specialities that Malcolm himself would have been forbidden by faith to go near. The Nebraska Historical Society authorized a marker near Malcolm's birthplace in Omaha. An assemblage of black community groups in Boston marched to the corner where Malcolm came too soon to manhood and christened it Malcolm X Square. A black woman officeholder in Washington waved away the Bible at her swearing-in and substituted a copy of the *Autobiography*. Malcolm's books sold in the hundreds of thousand and were required reading at dozens of universities; his recorded speeches became underground best-sellers with no promotion except word of mouth; his poster flowered everywhere, not the prophetic Malcolm of the last year but the pitiless finger-pointing Malcolm of the Black Muslims; two plays, a book of poems, even a ballet were done about him. [83]

Time published, between 1970 and 1991, a series of brief references to Malcolm X. Some were less than a sentence, none longer than a paragraph or so. The references were significant, despite their brevity. They portrayed Malcolm X as black symbol, which included the roles of black martyr, searcher for black heritage, definer of the black condition, and black prophet; as American symbol, most significantly as a martyr in common with Martin Luther King and John and Robert Kennedy; and as radical symbol—weakest of the three because *Time* usually took steps to erase shades of radicalism touching Malcolm X.

As a black martyr, Malcolm X achieved secular rather than religious martyrdom even though, *Time* said, it came as a result of his break with the Muslims. An essay in 1971 on the meanings attached to the term "martyr," took note of the attribution of martyrdom to "Malcolm X,...a dissenter from the rigid dogmas of the Black Muslims." Four years later a story about the death of Elijah Muhammad implied that Malcolm X was killed because he left the sect. Some murders were attributed to the Muslims because "a number of the murder victims have been members of rival Muslim groups; one was Muhammad's onetime spokesman Malcolm X, who was assassinated in 1965 after he left the movement." Finally, there was a vague reference in 1988 to Malcolm X as the "fiery Black Muslim leader assassinated in a Manhattan ballroom in 1965."[84]

He was depicted as a searcher for his black heritage in two widely separated stories. In 1979, *Time* cited his "obsession with his African roots—the 'X' stands for his unknown African name." Ten years later, leading a list of

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83. Peter Goldman, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 378-379.

84. John T. Elson, "Styles in Martyrdom," *Time*, 11 Oct. 1971, 62; "The Messenger Passes," *Time*, 10 March 1975, 83; and Michael Walsh, "Up from the Underground," *Time*, 16 May 1988, 90. Elson identified Malcolm X, incorrectly, as a man of "uncertain faith." Actually, he had became a fervent follower of orthodox Islam.

blacks who had shed their slave names ("during their centuries of bondage, slaves had names that were often chosen by their masters") was "Malcolm Little [who] became Malcolm X and then [after converting to orthodox Islam took the name] Malik al-Shabazz."[85]

One of the most striking symbolic roles of Malcolm X was as definer of the black condition. He appealed to black pride and self-love in "his famous remark that 'we hated the color of our skin, hated that blood of Africa that was in our veins. And in hating our features and our skin and our blood, we had to end up hating ourselves.'" For that and other reasons he held a special place in the hearts of young blacks. One remarked: "Heroes? 'Malcolm X, that's the man, that's the man,...He can tell you just how you feel.'" For contrast, there was Roy Wilkins of the NAACP: "'Too polite, too quiet. This ain't going to get it.'"[86]

Malcolm X was placed in eminently respectable, indeed, distinguished company, as the author of a jeremiad. Such "witness literature," according to *Time*, was:

> the testimony of men and women who have endured unspeakable torment and degradation and emerged to tell an unbelieving world, "this is the way it was. I know. I was there."
> That was the role of Malcolm X, the black man in the white nightmare; Elie Wiesel, the ghost of Auschwitz; and, to an unmatched degree, of Nobel Prize-winner Alexander Solzhenitsyn, [sic] survivor and permanent victim of Stalin's prison camps.[87]

As a prophet, Malcolm X was placed in the company, symbolically, of other African-American prophets. A 1970 story cited Malcolm X, King, and Frederick Douglass as black men of achievement whose portraits were included in a sort of black studies calendar. A month later, a professional football player recalled "his mother cheering, equally, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X on TV with cries of "'Get him!'" and "'That's the way to say it!'" Near year's end, King and Malcolm X were, literally, side by side in an article about a book for black children, the latter exhorting black pride, the former identified as "a preacher's son who looked at men and saw them as one." *Time* mentioned "the political and sociological imperatives of such thinkers as Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Malcolm X" in 1979. In 1989, *Time* referred to King

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85. Frank Rich, "A Super Sequel to Haley's Comet," *Time*, 19 Feb. 1979, 88. Richard Lacayo and Sylvester Monroe, "In Search of a Good Name, *Time*, 6 March 1989, 32. Others on the list included Cassius Clay (Muhammad Ali); Lew Alcindor (Kareem Abdul-Jabbar); the radical activist Stokely Carmichael, (Kwame Ture); and the writer LeRoi Jones (Amiri Baraka). Ibid.

86. See, respectively, "Africa to Zenith: A Modern Alphabet," *Time*, 7 Dec. 1970, 58, an illustrated article about a book aimed at black children in the first through fourth grades, *The Black BC's*; and "Getting It Together: The Young Blacks," *Time*, 6 April 1970, 47. Ironically, the youngster observed, while praising the black nationalist Malcolm X, that "separatism isn't the answer." In 1990, Malcolm X was shown inspiring a black lesbian, "an Afro-American studies major with spiked hair and a flair for quoting Malcolm X" while a young white woman student asked her professor, "'Who is this Malcolm the Tenth?'" Nancy Gibbs et al., "Bigots in the Ivory Tower," *Time*, 7 May 1990, 105.

87. Stefan Kanfer, "Witness," *Time*, 31 May 1971, 86.

and Malcolm X as "two path-breaking black leaders from the '60s." Malcolm X was joined symbolically with other black figures, Nat Turner, Marcus Garvey, and Huey Newton in a 1990 story that cited a rap group's references to them as "declarations of black pride." Malcolm X, Washington and Jesse Jackson were ranked, in an article published in 1991, as "black thinkers. . .[who] preached self-reliance." Perhaps the most interesting example of this symbolic characterization of Malcolm X was published in 1983. *Time* published a brief item about King's and Malcolm X's daughters, Yolanda King and Attallah Shabazz, two actresses who collaborated on a play after they found "that they had more in common than famous fathers in the civil rights movement." Furthermore, they planned to collaborate on a new play that, according to Yolanda King, "'will be about the similarities that existed between our fathers.'"[88]

Malcolm X and King were not always presented as consanguineous symbols. Malcolm X and King were twice contraposed in 1990. *Time* reported that reciprocal worship services were being held by Black Muslims and members of an African Methodist Episcopal Church, the "oldest and most influential black congregation" in Los Angeles. "Not too long ago," *Time* asserted, that arrangement "would have been as difficult to imagine as a summit between. . .King. . .and Malcolm X."[89] The conservative columnist Charles Krauthammer contributed an essay to *Time* that placed King and Malcolm X on opposite sides:

> Since the assassination of...King,...the mainstream contenders [for black leadership] have accepted King's vision, one that endorses American values, embraces the American Dream, and demands only that black America not be denied its share of the dream.
>
> However, there have always been voices, like Malcolm X's, that reject this vision. For them mainstream American values are inherently oppressive and racist, to be rejected at root...the new alternative leadership...is not so much radical (radicalism implies a program) as nihilist. It stands above all for rejection...
>
> As the traditional black leadership descended from King declines into irrelevance, its place will be taken by the alternative black leadership antithetical to King's vision.[90]

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88 . See, respectively: "Year of the Black," *Time*, 23 Feb. 1970, 14. "Merriwell by Baldwin," *Time*, 6 April 1970, 79. "Africa to Zenith," 58. Rich, "A Super Sequel to Haley's Comet," 85. "Critics Choice," 8 May 1989, 15. "Yo! Rap Gets on the Map," *Time*, 8 Feb. 1990, 62. (Of these black figures, Turner, Garvey, and Newton, only Newton could be regarded as a *modern* (thus clearly recognizable) radical. However, his leadership of the radical Black Panthers, which attracted a great deal of media attention in the late 1960s and early 1970s, had long since dimmed as a source of prominence and, in any event, was not cited by *Time*.) "Nothing Is Ever Simply Black and White," 12 Aug. 1991, 6. "People," *Time*, 4 April 1983, 71.

89. "Doing the Right Thing," *Time*, 16 April 1990, 22. A story in 1989 cited "contradictory epigrams from Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X"—but did not explain why they were contradictory. "Hot Time in Bed-Stuy Tonight," 3 July 1989, 62.

90. Charles Krauthammer, "The Black Rejectionists," *Time*, 23 July 1990, 80. As a contributing essayist, Krauthammer presumably had greater scope for his observations than would a member of *Time*'s staff. Krauthammer's analysis ignores, of course, the radicalization of King in the last three years of his life. See Lentz,

When they were portrayed as American symbols, Malcolm X and King were far from the antithetical symbols of Krauthammer's essay. These portrayals relied upon the symbolic associations of King, Malcolm X, and the brothers Kennedy as martyrs. Malcolm X, the second of the four men to die, was the last to be added to *Time*'s list of martyrs. King and President Kennedy were associated as martyrs immediately after King's death in 1968. A few weeks later, Robert Kennedy, after his assassination, was listed with his brother and King. Not until a decade after his death was Malcolm X made a consanguineous symbol with King and the Kennedys by *Time*. In 1975, the four men were depicted as victims of the "anarchic violence of the '60s" and symbols of that decade's "defeated hopes"; in 1980, as victims of "political assassination" that loomed as a specter in the United States as the result of the wounding of Vernon Jordan, president of the National Urban League. In 1983, the assassination of John Kennedy was presented as "the prototype in a series of public murders: Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., Robert Kennedy." Seven years later, a *Time* story reckoned that "Martyrdom at an early age was necessary to lift John and Robert Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X to the status of secular saints."[91]

Time assigned Malcolm X a role as reconciler of the races when it published a special issue in 1970 on the crisis of race. Leading off the issue was an admonition from Malcolm X: "'Both races as human beings (have) the obligation, the responsibility, of helping to correct America's human problems...In our mutual sincerity we might be able to show a road to the salvation of America's very soul.'"[92]

Symbols, the News Magazines, and Martin Luther King, 263-337, passim. On King and Malcolm X, see Allan Boesak, *Coming in Out of the Wilderness: A Comparative Interpretation of the Ethics of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X* (Kampen, Netherlands: J. H. Bok, n.d. [1976]).

91. On the conjoined symbolism of King and President Kennedy, see Lentz, *Symbols, the News Magazines, and Martin Luther King*, 305-306. *Time* associated the Kennedys and King (but not Malcolm X) as martyrs following Robert Kennedy's death. See "A Life on the Way to Death," *Time*, 14 June 1968, 20. T. E. Kalem, "Requiem for the '60s," *Time*, 19 May 1975, 80. "Ambush in the Night," *Time*, 9 June 1980, 10. Lance Morrow et al., "After 20 Years, the Question: How Good a President?" 14 Nov. 1983, 63. Richard Lacayo, "A Hero's Welcome," *Time*, 2 July 1990, 14. A writer not on the staff of *Time* brought together as prescient "assassination theorists" Malcolm X and President Johnson. "It was Malcolm who provoked a storm of obloquy in the aftermath of the Dallas shooting when he said J.F.K.'s killing was 'a case of the chickens coming home to roost.' And it was L.B.J. who 10 years later gave a kind of gritty geopolitical substance to Malcolm's metaphor when he told an ex-aide that J.F.K. was 'running a damned Murder Incorporated in the Caribbean'—all those CIA assassination plots—and that he believed one of these plots must have backfired, or doubled back on Kennedy, in Dealey Plaza." Ron Rosenbaum, "Taking a Darker View," *Time*, 13 January 1992, 56. *Time* described Rosenbaum as an author "who has written extensively on conspiracy theories." Ibid., 54.

92. "Black America, 1970," *Time*, 6 April 1970, 13. According to *Time*, the admonition was uttered shortly before his assassination in 1965. *Time* presented Malcolm X in a somewhat analogous role in 1979, when it noted that he had inspired his co-author Alex Haley's search that led to the book and the TV series that became a phenomenon of American culture with "the singular power to reunite all Americans, black and white, with their separate and collective pasts." Rich, "A Super Sequel to

Malcolm X was shown as an American symbol in other ways. He was a cultural icon for whom colleges and other institutions were named; whose life inspired an opera, a biography, and a motion picture; whose visage appeared on posters and photographs hung by individuals and public institutions, and whose identity was so well established that it would be understood that a silver X on a baseball hat would refer to him.[93]

Furthermore, he was an exemplar of American success: a man who, after engaging in criminality, had by the hardest work reformed himself and had gone on to achieve great things.[94] The experience of imprisonment can be soul-deadening, wrote *Time* in a special section on American prisons. "For a year or two or 20, life consists solely of repeated details, the slamming of gates, and constant, fathomless solitude."[95] Only an uncommon man could lift himself above that grinding existence. One who did was Malcolm X (then Malcolm Little), a prisoner at one of America's harshest penitentiaries. Only an uncommon spirit would have followed his difficult path to education:

> I was so fascinated that I went on—I copied the dictionary's next page. And the same experience came when I studied that. With every succeeding page, I also learned of people and places and events from history. Actually the dictionary is like a miniature encyclopedia. Finally the dictionary's A section had filled a whole tablet —and I went on into the B's. That was the way I started copying what eventually became the entire dictionary. It went a lot faster after so much practice helped me to pick up handwriting speed. Between what I wrote in my tablet, and writing letters, during the rest of my time in prison, I would guess I wrote a million words.—Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*.[96]

Malcolm X was identified, directly or indirectly, as a radical or was

Haley's Comet," 88.

93. On colleges named after him, see "Episcopalians at the Barricades," *Time*, 2 Nov. 1970, 74, and "Intellectual Black Power," *Time*, 16 Aug. 1971, 50. On the works about Malcolm X, see, respectively, "Elvis Meets the Bacchae," *Time*, 26 October 1987, 126; Michael Walsh, "Up from the Underground," *Time*, 16 May 1988, 90; R. Z. Sheppard, "Foul Weather for Fair Use," *Time*, 30 April 1990, 86; and David Ellis and Sidney Urquhart, "Cutting Edge Fashion," *Time*, 13 May 1991, 15. Examples of the iconography of Malcolm X appear in "We Put It All Together," *Time*, 30 Oct. 1972, 70; Maureen Dowd et al., "Fresh Faces for an Old Struggle," *Time*, 22 Aug. 1983, 32; William A. Henry III, "Attacking a 'National Amnesia,'" *Time*, 8 Dec. 1986, 107. *Time* designated the Malcolm X hat, introduced by film director Spike Lee to publicize a then forthcoming film about Malcolm X, as one of the best items of design in 1991 and Malcolm X himself as a "real-life black pimp turned philosopher." "Best of 1991: Design," *Time*, 6 Jan. 1992, 84.

94. In 1971, *Time* profiled an educator who seemed inspired by Malcolm X. He was Charles G. Hurst, Jr. Like Malcolm X, Hurst emerged from jail armed with "bitterness and determination." He worked his way through university to get a Ph.D., and later was named head of a two-year college in Chicago. There he fought successfully to get the college renamed for Malcolm X. "Intellectual Black Power," *Time*, 16 Aug. 1971, 50.

95. "Inside Looking Out," *Time*, 13 Sept. 1982, 42.

96. Ibid., 51.

situated within the context of radicalism in some stories. Usually, however, *Time* took steps to remove any tinge of radicalism from the symbolic Malcolm X.

A story about radicalism among inmates mentioned "radical reading material" flowing into prisons. *Time* reported that "As an example of the kind of material he would keep out of prisons, Sergeant William Hankins of San Quentin" cited books found in the cell of a black radical, "notably *Das Kapital* by Karl Marx and *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*." *Time* undermined the tarring of Malcolm X as a radical. It attached the exculpatory word *supposedly* to the phrase "radical reading material." The sergeant's low rank indicated his claim need not be taken seriously, especially in light of what followed after his assertion: "Other prison officials place the blame for radical attitudes largely on outsiders, who, they claim, reach the inmates through lawyers or cultural groups."[97]

Five years later, *Time* itself directly Malcolm X identified as a radical—"the first black radical ever to be portrayed as an intelligent, three-dimensional character on television." The story specified as the source of his radicalism his "obsession with his African roots." If radical, that obsession was shared by millions of Americans, white and black, who were far from radical. They had become obsessed with locating their heritage since the enormous success of the television series *Roots*, which had achieved "the singular power to reunite all Americans, black and white, with their separate and collective pasts." Moreover, *Time* identified Malcolm X, previously in the story, as a black thinker who ranked with Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois.[98]

The magazine did take note, in 1981, of Malcolm X's status of a devil figure during his lifetime, but it placed much more emphasis on "a new perspective" about him. Malcolm X had "once outraged or terrified many whites." Now, however, statements of his that were used in a television series about Harlem "seem reasonable and mild." They were even spiced with appealing humor. "'Do you consider yourself militant?' a reporter asks him toward the end of the series. He laughs and replies: 'I consider myself Malcolm.'"[99]

Faint hints of radicalism appeared in two stories, printed in 1988 and

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97. "Organizing Behind Bars," *Time*, 13 May 1974, 94. Normally, journalists would act to buttress the authority of sources, if their official rank was low, by substituting a vaguer identification such as *official* or *spokesman*. No doubt, *supposedly* was added because of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. Readers would be most unlikely to quarrel with a label of "radical reading material" for *Das Kapital*, but probably would for *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. It is doubtful that *supposedly* was added to avoid legal problems, given the freedom reserved for comment on and criticism of public works offered for public consumption.

98. Rich, "A Super Sequel to Haley's Comet," 85, 88. As late as 1966, *Time* considered Du Bois a radical. It reported, with approval, efforts of the Justice Department to force the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs to "register as Communist fronts" in order to "warn away many innocents and alert unwary members." Du Bois himself fared little better. A founder of the NAACP, he "became a Communist when he was 93 and a citizen of Ghana shortly before his death in 1963." See "Warning to the Unwary," *Time*, 11 March 1966, 28. It is unlikely that Du Bois was widely considered to be a radical by 1979. Moreover, the conservative Washington was a counterpoise, neutralizing any lingering radicalism of Du Bois that might tarnish the image of Malcolm X.

99. "I Remember Harlem," *Time*, 73. Malcolm X was identified as "murdered black leader."

1989, that designated Malcolm X a militant and a believer in violence. Much, if not all, of the force of those statements was drained away by juxtaposed phrases. The first story linked Malcolm X with "other eye-for-an-eye militants." The second article claimed that he condoned "violence in the name of self-defense." It was scarcely radical to believe in an eye for an eye; indeed, that notion fitted American ideas better than nonviolence.[100]

Malcolm X also was tinged with radicalism when *Time* placed in him the company of black radicals such as Stokely Carmichael and revolutionaries such as Che Guevara. The most forceful example of consanguineous radicalism was a report about social unrest in the Caribbean caused by Black Power advocates who ranged in ideology "from Maoists to religious fanatics." Because of riots in Kingston, the Jamaican government "nervously bans the works of Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and Che Guevara, and forbids entry to suspected troublemakers." Similarly, "revolutionary attitudes most passionately expressed by Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael" were reflected in the angry voices of black poets, a 1970 article observed. (Revolutionary attitudes that inspired only poets would not be likely to unsettle Americans, not noted for filling a stadium for readings by a poet.) A brief item reported that Carmichael, responding to a television interviewer's question, listed as his heroes the "late Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba, Black Panther Huey P. Newton, who was convicted of shooting a policeman, Black Muslim Leader Malcolm X, who was assassinated, and the former President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah." Carmichael came up with no white heroes, only the "greatest white man"—Adolf Hitler. That choice (and others) was called into question by his poor judgment. *Time* said that Carmichael had chosen Hitler "impulsively." Then "as the audience gasped, booed, and jeered," he nonsensically sought to justify that which could not be justified: "'When you talk about greatness, you don't put ethical or moral judgments on them.'" In 1971, Malcolm X was put in the company of Guevara. But *Time* contraposed them. Malcolm X was a quasi-religious figure cloaked in a aura of bravery, a "dissenter from the rigid dogmas of the Black Muslims." By contrast, Guevara was a bumbling, quixotic figure—that "inefficient picaresque revolutionary, Che Guevara."[101] The image evoked was of a South American guerilla hitching his serape over his shoulder while hunting up a patch of shade for a siesta, mumbling all the while that he would attend to the revolution mañana.

Strategic silence protected Malcolm X from tinges of radicalism more than once. In the post-Selma period, a *Time* review noted, "Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and other firebrands...emerged to challenge the movement's old guard and question its tactics." Silence about a critical point (Did those firebrands challenge American society as well as the old guard?) limited the emergence of the firebrands to a spat between factions of the black movement.[102]

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100. See, respectively R. Z. Sheppard, "A Time for Heroes, Not Saints," *Time*, 28 Nov. 1988, 95, a review of Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963*; and Jeanne McDowell, "He's Got To Have It His Way," *Time*, 17 July 1989, 92, an article about filmmaker Spike Lee. Lee observed that "the idea of self-defense is supposed to be what America is based on." He complained of a double standard for self-defense when blacks were defending themselves.

101. See, respectively, "'Tourism is Whorism,'" *Time*, 3 August 1970, 24; "The Undaunted Pursuit of Fury," *Time*, 6 April 1970, 98; "People," *Time*, 27 April 1970, 45; John T. Elson, "Styles in Martyrdom," *Time*, 11 October 1971, 62.

102. Richard Zoglin, "When the Pot Overflowed," *Time*, 15 January 1990, 52.

Another episode of silence appears in an article published four years earlier. A brief review mentioned that Malcolm X visited the black poet and author Maya Angelou during her four-year stay in Ghana in the 1960s.[103] The article did not report *why* Malcolm X was in Ghana (to line up African governments' support of his appeal to the United Nations to condemn racism in the United States), nor did it report his remarks that Angelou included in her book. The statements included the following:

> "If our cause was debated by all the world's nations, it would mean that finally, we would be taken seriously. We could stop courting the 'fair-minded white people in the U.S.' as Martin Luther King called some of his constituents. America would be forced to face up to its discriminatory policies. Street protests and sit-ins would be as passé as auction blocks and as unnecessary as manumission papers. If South African Blacks can petition the U. N. against their country's policy of apartheid, then America should be shown on the world's stage as a repressionist and bestial racist nation. . . ."
> "I am a Black man. Notice, I don't say Black American, I don't consider myself a democrat, a republican, or an American. I am a Black Muslim man of African heritage."[104]

Summary and Conclusions

Clearly, *Time* had labeled Malcolm X as a deviant, up to and following his murder in 1965. It did this by quoting his own statements, such as the gloating over the deaths of the 130 whites in the jet crash near Paris in 1962. It also placed him in the symbolic company of other deviants: his co-religionists of the Nation of Islam; Southern bigots such as the waitress in Birmingham whose speech was as racist as it was ungrammatical; and white radicals of the right, such as the American Nazi George Lincoln Rockwell. *Time* also labeled Malcolm X a deviant by setting him apart from moderate, reasonable black leaders, above all, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

A half-decade following his death, *Time* started to incorporate Malcolm. The devil figure became an affirmative symbol. As a definer of the black condition, he was obviously a black prophet whose searing words summoned up pride in African American heritage and outrage at the oppression of those who traced their roots to Africa, and thus he was placed in a pantheon of black heroes—Douglass, Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, Nat Turner, Marcus Garvey. However, Malcolm X was made available as a symbol to whites as well as to blacks by *Time*. The other symbolic figures with whom Malcolm X was associated by *Time* belonged to a company at once elevated and integrated: Martin Luther King, once symbolic foe of Malcolm X, now a martyr-in-common with him, as were the martyred brothers Kennedy; the conservative spokesman Barry Goldwater, former Republican presidential candidate; and those

103. "Bookends," *Time*, 31 March 1986, 72. While the review was quite brief, *Time* did manage to find space to record less consequential matters, such as a love affair of Angelou's.
104. Maya Angelou, *All God's Children Need Traveling Shoes*, Large type ed. (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1987), 190, 199-200.

recorders of man's inhumanity to man, Elie Wiesel, survivor of Auschwitz, and the Nobel laureate writer Alexandr Solzhenitsyn, survivor of Stalin's Gulag death camps. Malcolm's own life and struggle to rise could inspire whites as well as blacks. Two examples suffice to make the point. The first was how he achieved his command of the language; the grinding copying of a dictionary, entry by entry, page by page, while incarcerated in an ill-lit prison cell, made him, like Lincoln, an exemplar of the self-educated man. Another was his conversion to orthodox Islam and his renunciation of racial hatred, which demonstrated the capacity of men and women to awaken as from a deep sleep to their oneness with the rest of humanity.

What light does *Time*'s coverage shed on the symbolic processes associated with deviance? To begin, following Ben-Yehuda, it illustrates that these processes can be resisted, even reversed. Malcolm's standing within the Nation of Islam was not eroded as a result of deviant labels attached by the white press, including *Time*; indeed, his standing doubtless was increased because such accusations could be dismissed as yet more lies from twisted, perverted white infidels. His standing in black America is another matter. Black Muslims were regarded as a fringe group at least until 1963, the watershed year in the history of the civil rights movement. The Birmingham campaign in 1963 loosed hundreds of demonstrations across America, and, almost certainly by accident, changed a regional civil rights movement into a national black movement. As that movement exploded across America in 1963, 1964, and 1965, Malcolm's condemnation of whites focused and crystallized the resentment among African Americans. Despite his undeniable charisma and eloquence, Malcolm X became an important symbol because he touched and liberated something within his black countrymen. Indeed, it is a measure of how forcefully his words and example struck home that Malcolm X, with no real organization and few disciples of his own after he quit the Nation of Islam, became a black icon so rapidly following his death.

The incorporation of Malcolm X is a complicated issue. Obviously, neither rehabilitation nor conversion had much to do with *Time*'s incorporation of Malcolm X. The former pimp and drug pusher had rehabilitated himself two decades before *Time* decided to certify that he was, indeed, reformed. His conversion from the Nation of Islam to orthodox Islam was accompanied by changes in his attitudes about whites and the black organizations and black leaders whom he had once excoriated. Yet *Time* denied for five years that this conversion occurred. Such conversion *could* have been overlooked—assuming it took one of the best news-gathering staffs in American journalism five years to stumble on the facts of conversion revealed in public speeches and appearances and detailed in a book that sold considerably more than a million copies.

Why were the stigmata of deviance removed from the symbolic Malcolm X? The simple answer is that the leadership of *Time* had passed into more liberal hands as *Time* responded to the competitive pressures from *Newsweek*. The smidgen of truth in this thesis (Fuerbringer *had* been replaced by the cosmopolitan Grunwald; *Time was* being pressed hard by the upstart *Newsweek*) obscures something more important. Grunwald was no accident. He could not have been anything other than a known quantity after more than two decades on *Time*'s staff, most of them spent in responsible positions. Had Grunwald not edged the journal back toward the center and toned down its ideology, Time Inc., which had hundreds of millions of dollars in annual revenues, would have replaced Grunwald swiftly.

It was essential that these changes be made, by Grunwald or someone like him. *Time* had gotten out of step with its readership—not only on Malcolm X but on other critical issues such as the Vietnam war—because society had changed but *Time* had not, or had changed too little, or too slowly. If *Time*'s thesis that America ought to continue to fight the good war against Communism in Asia could no longer be sustained, neither could its portrait of Malcolm X as a devil figure. Public institutions and works bore the name of Malcolm X—recognition of his standing as an American symbol, not only a black symbol. Rebellious young Americans—black and white—were invoking him as a martyr or saint. *Time*'s interpretation had to be changed lest the magazine become hopelessly out of step with its readers—especially the young, well-educated readers who represented the future. Malcolm X, a mutable symbol of the 1960s, was, therefore, symbolically incorporated by a magazine that sought to create a useable past for an audience taken from the great middle ground of American society.

Time did not create Malcolm X as a black prophet. That status came as a result of his most enduring legacy: what he did to liberate black men and women from the shackles of fear and racial self-hatred. But what *Time* did —not by itself but in conjunction with other mass media and other instruments of social control—was to elevate him as an American symbol, one with the capacity to inspire white as well as black Americans by his discipline, his courage, and his capacity to reinvent himself. His demand for courage to resist oppression and for the rectitude appropriate to free men and women befitted an African American prophet, an American prophet.

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Joseph Pulitzer as an American Hegelian

by

Patricia Bradley

For the last fifteen years or so, journalism historians have searched for ways to tell journalism history outside the institutional approach that has dominated the field. But what has been notably missing from the "ferment in the field"[1] is emphasis on intellectual history; more precisely, in terms of journalism history, how has journalism been affected by the philosophy of its time and place?[2]

This article examines Joseph Pulitzer in terms of American intellectual history, suggesting he was a proponent of that American brand of German philosophy known as American Hegelianism that flourished in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As a first step, this essay examines his connections to leaders of the movement. In addition, a model is offered for the examination of Pulitzer's newspapers in a Hegelian context, one that may help clarify how Pulitzer could be a proponent of the idealistic notions of "New Journalism" and also be an author of and participant in the yellow press.

Given the scope of Pulitzer's career, Pulitzer's biographers have relied on anecdotes as precursors to his later greatness in the narrative of his early years.[3] Such a rush to get to the main events of his life underrates the

1. The phrase is taken from the issue of *Journal of Communication* 33 (Summer 1983): 3, that examined the new approaches.

2. Hazel Dicken-Garcia's *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989) for example, approaches the development of journalistic ethics in terms of the press debate of that period, but does not emphasize its intellectual milieu. By contrast, John Merrill framed journalism in terms of traditional philosophic questions in his 1983 book but did not attach those questions to philosophic models or connect them to particular times. See John Merrill and Jack Odell, *Philosophy and Journalism* (New York: Longman, 1983). Merrill's interest in journalism and philsophy is also illustrated by *The Imperative of Freedom: A Philosophy of Journalistic Autonomy* (New York: Hastings House, 1974), and other works.

3. W.A. Swanburg , *Pulitzer* (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1967) draws heavily on anecdotes from previous biographers. See, for example, the story of Pulitzer's escape from a swollen Ozark River in Swanburg (page 7) footnoted to Don C. Seitz, *Joseph Pulitzer, His Life and Letters* (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1924), 55. Seitz uses as facts stories Pulitzer promulgated in his own lifetime.

considerable influence of his early social milieu in the shaping of his intellectual outlook.

When Pulitzer arrived in St. Louis at the close of the Civil War, he was at the epicenter of a highly charged intellectual climate in which young men, and a few women,[4] sought to make sense of a time still reeling from the conflict. There had been no easy loyalties for inhabitants of this border state who, from their position on the edge of the coin, could not escape observation of the duality so central to Hegelian thought.[5] Moreover, the war had coincided with the publication of a book that challenged and divided a generation as no other – Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species.* A devastating war, a president dead, Reconstruction failing – all under a hovering Darwinism that seemed to say that God's design had nothing to do with reward for the virtuous. Such a view was unpalatable to the inhabitants of St. Louis, who were amidst such a boom that, increasingly, they viewed themselves in a City-on-the-Hill image. So sure were they that their prosperity was an indication that St. Louis was destined for the mantle of leadership, that the city dubbed itself, "The Future Great City of the World." City fathers fully expected that St. Louis would overtake Chicago as the Midwest's focal point.[6] The Great Chicago Fire was another indication to the Hegelians that Chicago's historically sanctioned "phase" was over.[7] Thus, the young Hegelian scholars, preparing for the impending leadership role amidst the questions of the time, bore heavy responsibility. As Denton Snider, the historian of the movement, put it, "What does it all mean?" was quite the universal question. We began to grope after the everlasting verities, the eternal principles."[8]

In seeking those answers, a variety of study groups sprang up to examine the philosophies of Aristotle, Goethe, Kant, Fiche and, most importantly, Hegel. The study of Hegel by Henry Brokmeyer and William Torrey Harris, the acknowledged leaders of the group, had begun before the Civil War.[9] Upon Brokmeyer's return to St. Louis after war service, the two men resumed their study with renewed vigor, drawing new acolytes. But by the late 1860s, when the ardent young intellectuals were struggling with patches of Brokmeyer's handwritten translation, Hegel's influence in European universities had given way to new philosophers. Indeed, Hegel's work was more than a half-

4. Among these were Susan Blow, considered one of the founders of the kindergarten movement. Cleon Forbes, "The St. Louis School of Thought," *Missouri Historical Review* 25 (October 1930): 609.

5. Denys P. Leighton, "William Torrey Harris, 'The St. Louis Hegelians,' and the Meaning of the Civil War," *Gateway Heritage* 10 (Fall, 1989): 33-45.

6. L. V. Reavis, *St. Louis the Future Great City of the World, 1874,* quoted in "Starting from St. Louis," by Denton J. Snider, in William Goetzmann's *The American Hegelians: An Intellectual Episode in the History of Western America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 9. See also Denton J. Snider, *The St. Louis Movment in Philosophy, Education and Psychology, with Chapters of Autobiography* (St. Louis: Sigma Publishing Co., 1920), 76-128.

7. Henry Pochmann, "The Spread of Interest in German Philosophy," *German Culture in America, Philosophical and Literary Influences* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), 268. Original published (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957).

8. Snider, 167.

9. Goetzmann provides a description of the early relationship of Harris and Brokmeyer, 3-4.

century old. However, in the United States, Hegelian philosophy seemed made to order as a way to make sense of the Civil War, as Hegel had sought ways to make sense of the breaking apart of his world decimated by the Thirty Years' War. As one Hegelian scholar has noted, Hegel saw philosophy not "as an esoteric discipline for professional thinkers,"[10] but in terms of its necessity to the culture of the time. Specific to his time, Hegel viewed the task of philosophy as the resolution of bifurcation, the alienation that he viewed as endemic in all levels of life, religious, personal and social. He sought a system of thought that would allow individuals "to feel 'at home' in the world."[11] Thus, American Hegelianism, as its parent, was a philosophy connected to solving the problems of its time.

Clearly, the Hegelian view of life provided order. History, in the Hegelian mode, was not a string of occurrences resulting from random natural selection, but rather a narrative that was unfolding for the betterment of humankind. Hegel could look back over the course of history and discern patterns that indicated that the human race was moving to a time of harmony, a freedom made possible by the final overcoming of the dialectic of opposites.

The "dialectic" was a point of frequent discussion among the Hegelians. It grew from the belief that individuals needed to confirm themselves by receiving recognition from other persons. But this drive for recognition from others, also established the "other" as a rival. This Hegelian model of opposites would be characterized as a "thesis" facing an "antithesis" resulting in an eventual showdown that became a new thesis ready to face another antithesis, producing yet another synthesis, and so on, *ad infinitum.* Thus, confrontation became a characteristic of Hegelianism and of its American descendent.

> Hegelianism was a philosophy of unbounded optimism born out of a virtually infinite series of desperate situations, and it thrived on clashes and confrontations...Indeed, the primary mode of Hegelian thinking was first to locate the contradictions inherent in any situation and then to set about to resolve them.[12]

Confrontation, then, was a necessary step toward resolution and indicated the activist thrust of the philosophy. Harmony was the goal, but its achievement was to be by acts, not drift. Nor were these acts to be in the symbolic mode. American Hegelians sought effective action. This drive for effective action, the belief in the wisdom of the whole, the need of confirmation from others, and the historic certainty that change for the better could be achieved led the American Hegelians to participate in the world in ever-widening social and institutional circles.

The emphasis on participation in public affairs came at a time when power by alignment was increasingly coming to characterize the latter quarter of the nineteenth century. The formation of national organizations surged, uniting members across a myriad of constructs – gender, ethnic origin, professions,

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10. John Edward Toews, *Hegelianism, The Path Toward Dialectical Humanism, 1805-1841* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 5.
11. Ibid., 4.
12. Goetzmann, 15.

goals, race, labor – almost any commonality that could be found to identify individuals by a universal. In a changing society, and, for many, an unsafe one, the nation's citizenry sought association with any kind of group that promised identification, strength in numbers and defense against its opposite and it is not surprising that this was the era for the rise of brand names. (The new, protective boxes of Uneeda brand biscuits suggesting the "other" was the possibility of uncouth hands delving into a cracker barrel). The St. Louis Hegelians were both shaped and helped shape the cultural imperatives of the time.

Such summary may suggest that such a philosophy was one that emphasized many of the elements already considered part of the American experience – optimism, progress, strength by unity, and belief in the overall wisdom of the people. Contradictions had also been part of the American experience from the inception of the country, a duality captured by Richard Hofstadster's memorable phrase that "the United States was the only country in the world that began with perfection and aspired to progress."[13]

For the German immigrants and the upwardly mobile young men of the Hegelian circle, the philosophy not only validated the thrust of the American experience but provided a further rationale to join the mainstream. The activist philosophy found fertile ground among the ambitious, intelligent but poor young men who had not the luxury of studying philosophy behind ivyed walls. It should be noted that part of what made American Hegelianism so influential was that it was being put into practice as it was being studied. It was a philosophy that demanded the workplace. In that regard, the philosophy was eminently successful and the tenets of American Hegelianism were spread among a variety of fields because so many of the young men succeeded in their career choices – in education, social reform, law, history, academic philosophy, and, certainly, journalism.[14]

In a city dominated by the culture of its German immigrants, it was perhaps not surprising that German philosophy came to be the core of the St. Louis movement. However, the members of the St. Louis Movement were not all of German extraction. The leaders of the movement, Harris and Brokmeyer, illustrated the diversity, even oppositional aspects, of its membership. Harris was a New Englander by birth who came to St. Louis as a teacher of shorthand, rose to become superintendent of the St. Louis Public Schools, and became the first U.S. Commissioner of Public Education. But like all Hegelians, his commitment to activity in the world did not diminish his vigorous intellectual life and he founded and edited the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* (Hegel and Frederic Schiller had also founded a similar journal fifty years before), the first journal in the United States devoted entirely to philosophy. For twenty years, the journal published the writings not only of the St. Louis group but also

13. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Random House, 1955), 36.

14. Pockmann summarizes the accomplishments of members of the group. Additionally, James Hosmer cast Samuel Adams in a Hegelian mode in what was the standard biography *Samuel Adams* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1898). Nicolas Murray Butler was a Harris protege whose career in academic philosphy led him to the presidency of Columbia University during Pultizer's endowment of the Graduate School of Journalism. Butler lavishly credited Harris in his autobiography *Across the Busy Years: Recollections and Reflection,* (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1935), 1:84-85.

philosophers and academicians such as John Dewey, Josiah Royce and G. Stanley Hall, all of whom were influenced by American Hegelianism.

Of the two leaders, however, it was Brokmeyer who would have significant influence on Pulitzer. Snider credits Brokmeyer as most responsible for Pulitzer's move to the Democratic Party, eschewing the Liberal Republican Party of his mentor and benefactor, Carl Schurz.[15]

Brokmeyer, like Pulitzer, was foreign born, an immigrant arriving with "twenty-five cents in his pocket and three words of English in his vocabulary"[16] who rose to influence without family connections or college training. His early life included service in the Civil War, a Thoreau-like period of living independently in the forest, a return to society, and a successful political life during which he became lieutenant governor and, briefly, governor of Missouri. However, as a German-speaker, it was his task to attempt to translate Hegel's *Larger Logic* and for a time he was financially supported in this effort by Harris and other young men.

The St. Louis Philosophical Society was established by the two men in 1866. Pulitzer became a member, encouraged to do so by the charismatic Brokmeyer, around 1868, after he had become a reporter on the *Westliche Post*. For both personal and professional reasons, it is not surprising that Brokmeyer would select Pulitzer for attention. American Hegelians were prolific writers, following Harris' dictum, "If you have any thoughts to give to the world which you consider of value, get them printed; disseminate them."[17] Journalism was an appropriate profession for such an ideology and a number of the members of the St. Louis Movement had clear ties to the journalistic community. An early member of the circle before the war was a young newspaper reporter, George Stedman, an intimate of Harris' until Stedman's death in the conflict.[18] Harris himself had sought a reporting career on the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* and had also been involved in a magazine publishing venture.[19] Other Hegelians were full-time working journalists. Adolf Kroeger, a correspondent for the *New York Times*, had become involved in philosophical circles when he had been sent to St. Louis as a *Times* reporter.[20] John Gabriel Woerner, renowned jurist and author of a Civil War novel that cast Harris and Brokmeyer in fictional roles, started out as a journalist, publishing the *St. Louis Tribune* for a period.[21] Joseph Keppler, a friend of Pulitzer, published a humorous German-language weekly in St. Louis before he moved to New York in 1870 where he attacked the Grant administration through his cover art for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated*

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15. Snider, 168. Swanburg has a good discussion of Pulitzer's role in the formation of the Liberal Republican Party under Schurtz, but accounts for his disaffection on the basis of Pulitzer's unhappiness with the party's 1874 nominee for Missouri govenor, 29-33. The split led to a cooling between the men and Pulitzer was not mentioned in Schurz' memoirs.

16. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964 ed.)

17. Quoted by Pockmann, 259.

18. Stedman and Harris conducted a correspondence from 1859 until Stedman's death in 1865. Harris Papers, Missouri Historical Society (hereafter MHS).

19. Kurt Leidecker, *Yankee Teacher, The Life of William Torrey Harris* (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1946), 86-88.

20. Forbes, 612-13.

21. *DAB* 10: 439-440.

Newspaper.[22] Schurz, however, despite the leadership role of the *Westliche Post* in the German community, is not considered a member of the Hegelian circle – perhaps already an elder statesman during the time of the study clubs. Finally, the master himself, Hegel, had been a newspaper editor for a period, a position taken after Napoleon's march through Europe ended his professorship at the University of Jena.

While journalistic endeavors were obvious vehicles for the promulgation of Hegelian thought, the regular and expected publication of newspapers and magazines also served to make journalism a representation of the Hegelian emphasis on progression. Moreover, simply by the purchase or subscription to a newspaper, a reader could express alignment with a community and with those of similar outlook. Additionally, newspapers and magazines could encourage the dialectic as reporters and editors took on the values that best represented the interests of the *folkmote* and combated detrimental forces.

In addition to Pulitzer's journalistic credentials, there were also personal characteristics that Brokmeyer and Pulitzer shared and likely led to an attraction between the two men. Both had arrived in the United States as German-speaking immigrants without family fortunes. Brokmeyer had been a workman and Pulitzer performed manual labor to earn his living when he first arrived in St. Louis. Both Brokmeyer and Pulitzer were children of Jewish-Christian marriages. They even shared a similar facial characteristic – both had enormous noses. Pulitzer would also come to emulate Brokmeyer's overweening and arrogant self-confidence. It is not surprising that Brokmeyer, making efforts to extend his influence and his philosophy, should have noticed Pulitzer, who was seeking to find his way out of the German immigrant ghetto and into the success of the wider world so clearly represented by the older and influential Brokmeyer.

One obvious benefit of the study groups to Pulitzer and other young men with no formal entree into society was the role of the clubs as an introduction to those in positions of some authority. While it is to be expected that Pulitzer sought this advantage and, indeed, his friendship with Brokmeyer did have important ramifications for his career,[23] Snider's account of the relationship between the two men indicated a reciprocal regard.

According to Snider, Pulitzer first saw Brokmeyer when Pulitzer was a waiter at the famous Tony Faust beer garden that served as Brokmeyer's court. Here, Pulitzer would "hang on Brokmeyer's thunderous words, even as he served them their pretzels and beer." It was Brokmeyer who "induced" Pulitzer to join the Philosophical Society and it was Brokmeyer "whose teaching colored his political and journalistic life." Unequivocally, in Snider's view, Brokmeyer had "laid his spell upon the young receptive genius – there being some twenty years of life experience between their ages."[24] Brokmeyer recognized Pulitzer's affinity for the Hegelian life early. He is recorded as saying: "That young fellow cinches the future; they think because he trundles about with a big cobnose, a whopper jaw, and bull-frog eyes that he has no sense; but I tell you that he possesses greater dialectical ability than all of them put together – I know it for I have felt

22. *DAB* 5: 351.

23. Forbes, based on Snider, suggests that Pulitzer became police commissioner through Brokmeyer's influence and it was that position that led him to acquire the St. Louis *Dispatch* at a sheriff's sale for $2,500.00, 617.

24. Snider, 168.

it; mark me, he is now engaged in making of a greater man than editor Danzer or editor Preetorius, or even Schurz."[25]

For his part, Pulitzer is described as patterning himself after Brokmeyer, even to copying Brokmeyer's mannerisms and speech. "But just behold!" Snider wrote, "Brokmeyer's look and stature! his grimaces and Rabelaisian grotesquery, followed by serious long-faced statements of profound constitutional principles! Then his smiling urbanity toward everybody. In short Pulitzer became Brokmeyer then and there."[26]

Unfortunately, there seems to be no other versions of the friendship that fill out the relationship as fully as Snider's account. Pulitzer is not known to have acknowledged any debt to Brokmeyer, perhaps not surprising given Pulitzer's omnipotent view of himself and his later tendency to invent his own history. Neither Brokmeyer nor Pulitzer wrote autobiographies; Pulitzer biographers have barely acknowledged, much less delved, into the Brokmeyer-Pulitzer relationship. The Pulitzer family seems to have made special efforts to deny Pulitzer's connection with Brokmeyer or any other Hegelian. In 1930, Joseph Pulitzer Jr. stiffly answered an inquiry on the subject. "I regret to say that I can give you no additional information as to my father's connection with the St. Louis Movement. It was incidental that my father was mentioned in connection with the movement for so far as I know he was not affiliated with it."[27]

It is not quite clear why Pulitzer's sons (Ralph also declined any knowledge)[28] would want to disassociate their father from the movement. One of the leading lights of the movement, Thomas Davidson, was a frequent visitor in the Pulitzer home during Pulitzer's maturity.[29] Given Pulitzer's personality, it is possible that he had a falling out with Brokmeyer – as Hegel had with Schiller – and that Pulitzer himself discouraged mention of Brokmeyer's influence.

Fortunately, the son of William Torrey Harris was able to provide evidence of Pulitzer's connection with one of the study clubs, the Aristotle Club, and the start of his long-lasting friendship with Davidson. Theodore Harris provided a description of the dozen or so members who comprised the club in a rendering that coincides with Snider's description of the eager young intellectuals. They were, Harris remembered:

> bright, ambitious young men, none over forty years of age, and obsessed if I may use the term with a vast hunger for the highest spiritual hunger. Besides my father, the famous Greek scholar Thomas Davidson was a regular attendant, and illuminated the meetings with an inexhaustible store of knowledge. Another member was Joseph Pulitzer, the founder of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, and subsequently the owner

25. Ibid., 167.
26. Ibid.,169.
27. Letter from Joseph Pulitzer Jr. to Charles H. Percy, Jan. 2, 1930, in *The St. Louis Movement in Philosophy: Some Source Material*, Charles M. Percy, ed. (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1930), 33.
28. Ralph Pulitzer to Charles H. Percy, 8 November 1929, MHS.
29. See notes following.

and the builder of the NY *World*.[30]

Clearly, Pulitzer was entranced by the older Davidson and the two men spent "Sundays and evenings together in the room of one or the other, while Davidson would spout out instructional information from his vast store of knowledge."[31]

In the early correspondence to Davidson, Pulitzer is not only revealed as a buoyant, affectionate young man – qualities that are not usually associated with the mature Pulitzer – but as someone who was eager to show off his own store of knowledge."Tom!" began a letter in 1873, apparently written after a club meeting,

> "What a fraud you are–not to come before I left when I had so much to [unreadable]. If Faust had been such a cold-blooded heartless chap as you, Goethe and Mephisto would have had a much harder job indeed. As it is, the modern Mephisto has a still more difficult task with such a degenerate wily fellow of a Faust as you are. But I'll have my revenge even if I'll try to inflict as many of my epistolary cruelties on you as my indolence will permit. Joe."

A postscript made it clear that Pulitzer was really Davidson's devoted servant. "If I can bring you any Greek or other books from New York name them and I'll go for them."[32] In the same month, another note began with the same chiding tone:

> Tom! What a villain you are–not a word, not even our address and a month gone! And what a fool your friend must be to cling to you still. But never fear–it is my mission as it is the mission of all great men to reform and my perseverance, like your wisdom knows no limit. Whether you go to Mass. or still further north as far as even the north-pole, I shall stick to you-stick to you until grim death.[33]

In another revealing letter the same summer, Pulitzer portrayed his perseverance by humorously threatening Davidson with his "other."

> Tom! You very much mistake the unfathomable villainy of your Mephistophelean admirer if you deceive yourself with the flattering unction that even now he'll grant you peace. That is not in the devil's nature. Though the occasion for the use of your very unsophisticated and gullible nature has passed forever, I remain, undiminished by all vicissitudes, my old

30. Theodore Harris to Cleon Forbes, 28 December 1828, Harris Papers, MHS.
31. Snider, 170.
32. Joseph Pulitzer to Thomas Davidson, July 1874, Davidson Papers, Sterling Library, Yale University.
33. Ibid.

interest in your unhappiness.[34]

This series of letters to Davidson were written when Pulitzer was already a regional and something of a national figure following his involvement in the 1872 Liberal Republican convention. The heavy-handed playfulness of the letters, a mix of adolescent yearning pathos and almost child-like threats, may be somewhat surprising coming from a man who had already served in the state legislature. However, given Snider's description of Brokmeyer's affect on Pulitzer, Pulitzer in this period was someone who, despite his considerable success, still sought approval from older men.

Apart from what they reveal about his personality, the letters indicate that Pulitzer connected himself to the literary and philosophical figures of the study clubs even as he moved into the mature stage of his career. His reference to himself as "Mephisto" was particularly representative of the Hegelian obsession with the existence of opposites. One side could not exist without the other; Pulitzer, apparently, could not be the great man he wished to be without the potential that the grand opposite existed.

The friendship eventually waned. Davidson, an admirer of the placid world of the Greeks, may have grown tired of Pulitzer's bullying, The relationship did not resume until 1895. By this time, Pulitzer, blind and irascible, directed his newspapers from his steamship, the RMS Teutonic. Swanberg calls him "the loneliest man in the world" during this period, isolated by his illness and megalomania.[35] But his letters to Davidson contain less of the bombast and criticism than what others received. "When I did not hear from you for eight years, I did worry a good deal about your silence, thinking it most strange... I do feel very much like seeing you and talking over those happy days of poverty... I am much interested in your family, your books, your prosperity and your philosophy. I wish I had some of the latter."[36]

Davidson could hardly resist such a bittersweet letter from a man who was certainly among the most powerful in the nation. The friendship was repaired, and Davidson became one of Pulitzer's traveling companions and visitors, although not as frequent a one as Pulitzer would have liked. Pulitzer issued a stream of invitations for Davidson to visit him in Bar Harbor and his retreat on Jekyl Island in Brunswick, Georgia.[37] The tone of the dissatisfied child was still discernible in the correspondence. In the midst of his daughter's final illness, Pulitzer chided Davidson, "You never wrote me from Boston – ran off like a bad boy. Yet here I am thinking of you and proposing to you a trip to Naples if I am able to get off."[38] From his retreat in Georgia, Pulitzer wrote, "My dear Tom, How are you and how is that cold under cover of which you deserted me?" [39] And, plaintively, "I want to see you very badly and will not forgive you unless you come."[40]

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34. Pulitzer to Davidson, undated, Davidson Papers.
35. Swanberg,191.
36. Pulitzer to Davidson, 30 June 1895, Davidson Papers.
37. See, for example, letters dated 4 June 1897, 10 July 1897, 13 October 1897, Davidson Papers.
38. Pulitzer to Davidson, written from Bar Harbor, 8 December 1897, Davidson Papers.
39. Pulitzer to Davidson, written from Jekyl Island, Georgia, 1889, Davidson Papers.
40. Pulitzer to Davidson, postmark 21 December 1898, Davidson Papers.

However, Davidson's re-entry into his life may have stimulated his interest in philosophy. Pulitzer eagerly responded to a Davidson letter in which he discussed some philosophical points, concluding, "I am one of those idiots who cannot get out of their brains the idea that it is their duty to worry about anything that is wrong, and not to submit until it is made right."[41]

Davidson may have been less impressed with Pulitzer than Pulitzer would have liked, as illustrated in a Davidson letter to Harris in 1884:

> Pulitzer was most kind to me in New York, and made me stay at his house while I was in the city. His paper is certainly a great success, but heaven knows how it was brought about. I dined at his house with Conkling[42] and other worthies, and was not deeply impressed with their characters. Mrs. Pulitzer is charming in a worldly way and really devoted to her husband.[43]

Davidson was to acknowledge Pulitzer's kindness in another chatty letter to Harris a few years later.[44] But again the tone is laconic and it was perhaps Davidson's refusal to be awed by the mogul – Pulitzer's ongoing attraction to opposites – that kept Pulitzer fascinated and, indeed, generous; it was Pulitzer who helped underwrite Davidson's favorite and final project, the Brooklyn Breadwinners' College.[45]

Pulitzer's ongoing friendship with Davidson indicates that Pulitzer continued to have in his mature life a reminder and confirmer of his St. Louis philosophical roots. The influence of those early days was to be put to work in his life, as they were in the careers of other young men of the study clubs. It was, after all, the nature of the philosophy that to be an adherent was to commit to a public sphere. To be Hegelian was to put your philosophy to work and the American Hegelians who achieved prominence in their careers integrated their philosophies into their life works.

Such integration can be seen in Pulitzer's career. As a reporter for the *Westliche Post*, Pulitzer had gained a reputation among other reporters as a man whose "chief ambition seemed to be to root out public abuses and expose evil-doers."[46] In the mid-nineteenth century, the role of reporter as a reformer was by no means universal; it was a role that would become more prominent in the years after the Civil War as the craft became professionalized and journalism developed as an institution with its own standards and traditions. It was, however, highly Hegelian for Pulitzer to take on this role of public protector by rooting out evil. The Hegelian idea of the ongoing role of the dialectic in a

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41. Pulitzer to Davidson, Brunswick, Ga., 30 January 1898, Davidson Papers.
42. Roscoe Conkling, a former U. S. Republican senator and previous foe, who Pulitzer was seeking to influence at this time. Swanburg, 85-86.
43. Thomas Davidson to William Torrey Harris, 17 October 1884, Harris Papers.
44. Thomas Davidson to William Torrey Harris, 17 May 1896, Harris Papers.
45. Percival Chubb, "Thomas Davidson," *A Brief Report of the Meeting Commemorative of the St. Louis Movement* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1921). Chubb says the college grew out of an invitation made by Pulitzer for Davidson to speak to an "Eastside assembly of young Jews," 65.
46. Attributed to William Fayel, quoted in George S. John, "Joseph Pulitzer," *Missouri Historical Review* , 26 (January 1931): 215.

journalistic context becomes the model for investigative reporting. Pulitzer's reporting model worked from the basis that nothing can exist without the existence of its opposite; that freedom came when the opposite was confronted; and peace returned when the conflict was resolved. The Pulitzer reporter was a man who suspected, who challenged and who exposed to public view with the faith that, with knowledge, the wisdom of the people would move the problem to completion. It was indeed, an *American* Hegelianism with its emphasis on public exposure and public censor, the reporter taking on the traditional ministerial role of exposing sinful ways to the congregation.

However, unlike the Puritan minister, Pulitzer could not force his parishioners to come to church. Nor was it part of the Hegelian philosophy to preach to the converted; much less to be heard by the few. Pulitzer encouraged lively writing, smart headlines, and those items of readability that would draw readers and build advertising revenues. But as John D. Stevens notes, Pulitzer's emphasis on readability was clearly in the mode of sensationalism long before William Randolph Hearst arrived as his major competitor in New York. Within the first week of Pulitzer ownership of the *World*, the newspaper had set a tone of emphasizing sensational news. Stevens records headlines such as SCREAMING FOR MERCY, DEATH RIDES THE BLAST, WHILE THE HUSBANDS WERE AWAY and MONSTERS FROM THE DEEP. At the end of the second week, the deaths of twelve people during the opening day ceremonies of the Brooklyn Bridge gave Pulitzer the headline BAPTIZED IN BLOOD[47] – although the baptismal font could have belonged to the *World*. Stevens is skeptical that Pulitzer's primary purpose was to draw readers in order to educate them with his editorials, noting that with the increased circulation came increased advertising revenues.[48]

Nonetheless, the high-toned editorials existed just pages away from the offending headlines and gave the newspaper a contradictory flavor that was not lost upon readers of the time. Alleyne Ireland, one of Pulitzer's secretaries in the last year of his life, recalled reading to Pulitzer a satirical poem that had appeared in the general circulation *Life* magazine.

> A dual personality is this,
> Part yellow dog, part patriot and sage;
> When it comes to facts the rule is hit or miss,
> While none can beat its editorial page.
> Wise counsel here, wild yarns the other side
> Page six its Jekyll and page one its Hyde;
> At the same time conservative and rash,
> The *World* supplies us good advice and trash.

"That's clever," Pulitzer responded, according to Ireland, "but it's absolute nonsense, except about the editorial pages." Ireland's reading led to a discussion about the purposes of a newspaper. Ireland recorded a passionate Pulitzer explaining the necessity of a large circulation. It was the job of a newspaper in a democracy, Pulitzer said, to inform the public of those who break

47. John D. Stevens, *Sensationalism and the New York Press* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 70-71.
48. Ibid., 73.

the public trust. "Get these things out in the open, describe them," Pulitzer cried out, "attack them, ridicule them in the press, and sooner or later public opinion will sweep them away."[49]

> If a newspaper is to be of real service to the public it must have a big circulation, first because its news and its comment must reach the largest possible number of people, second, because circulation means advertising, and advertising means money, and money means independence.[50]

Clearly, Pulitzer became wealthy because of the success of his newspapers, but it is to make an assumption to conclude that accumulation of wealth was the primary motive for his approach to news. What is plain in his remarks to Ireland is his belief that the public, the *folkmote*, would maintain municipal, state, and "National conduct," if provided with accurate–another Pulitzer motif–information. What underlies his statement that large newspaper circulations are necessary to inform a large body of people, is the American Hegelian belief in the wisdom of the collective and the necessity of ever-enlarging circles of those holding similar views in order to make those views effective.

However, it should be considered that in Pulitzer's Hegelian outlook, sensationalism may have had other purposes beyond building circulation for profit and independence or even providing a large body of people with news. Given the influence of the philosophy, sensationalism to Pulitzer could represent a variety of Hegelian principles, including those of community building, the clarification of opposites, and a call to action by way of citizen participation. In an Hegelian interpretation, sensationalism can be seen to unify readers and build a sense of community by its assumption that readers will share in the emotion expressed in the headline; a system of shared values is elucidated, the first step in the development of a unified public. Moreover, sensationalism, by its very tone takes a position. Whether it is an exaggerated statement of horror or disbelief, the sensational headline has no middle ground. As in all extremes, the sensational headline conveys the notion of its opposite. A headline that excoriates a governmental official for taking bribes, for example, communicates that 1) taking bribes is not appropriate for a government official and 2) taking bribes exists. Sensationalism thus presents the Hegelian dialectic of opposites, each side verifying the other's existence. Further, sensationalism, even in its typography, insists on participation because readers can hardly resist some reaction, positive or negative, to the headlines.

For Pulitzer, then, sensationalism had obvious Hegelian referents: as a definer of values for its readers, validating them in inches-high black type that proclaimed the wisdom of the folk; as the unequivocal definer of the opposite by the nature of its stand; and as an encourager of involvement, if even by reaction, to the world's events. That involvement might not go further than repulsion, entrancement, titillation – but a *World* reader could hardly view the world passively.

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49. Alleyne Ireland, *An Adventure With a Genius: Recollections of Joseph Pulitzer* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1920), 115.
50. Ibid.

Thus, it is to misinterpret Pulitzer to say his front page was like a shop window to attract the readers inside. The front page was the first page of a Hegelian primer leading to the editorial page that exhorted societal involvement. Such a contrast, as the *Life* parody writer had pointed out, gave to the *World* the appearance of a dual personality. But to that American Hegelian Denton Snider, the dual nature of the newspaper was exactly the point: the newspaper itself was the dialectic in action.

> The editorial page favored all good things, attacked corruption of every sort, and preached the ethics conduct with an unction that smelled of sanctity – But now look on the other page, the reportorial – there is a drop from Heaven to Hell. All devildom is there set forth in black head-lines, propped on columns of lurid details in smaller type – murders, rapes, lynchings, frauds, seductions – Pandemonium broke loose in print and served up for breakfast. So the *World* dualized humanity to the very bottom in every issue, compounding Dante's "Inferno" and "Paradiso" in one all embracing dose, giving each half of Human Nature and of God's Universe its dual representation in a single budget every day.[51]

Snider could also have pointed to the newspaper's masthead. There could not have been a better rendering of the newspaper as a representative of Hegelian thought than Pulitzer's choice of graphic symbol: the figure of Liberty holding her lamp between two globes, giving, as Snider would have put it, Human Nature and God's Universe a promise of dual representation.

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51. Snider, 170.

War as Monarchial Folly in the Early American Press

by

Jeffery A. Smith

Nothing was more central to the Enlightenment reasoning that produced the United States Constitution than an aversion to the unwanted effects of human aggressiveness. Zeal and ambition, said the *Federalist* papers, rendered people "much more disposed to vex and oppress each other, than to co-operate for their common good."[1] Self-interested, hostile actions were regarded as not only leading to disreputable party politics and destructive wars, but also to the downfall of past republics.[2] Consequently, eighteenth-century political theorists sought mechanisms – including constitutional checks and balances – that would preserve equanimity by frustrating actions at odds with basic individual rights or the general well-being. The French physiocrats, Adam Smith, and the Jeffersonian Republicans advanced credible and often-admired ideas for achieving peaceful, harmonious human relations within and among societies through the political economy,[3] but various Enlightenment schemes for

1. James Madison, "The Federalist No. 10," in *The Federalist*, ed. Jacob E. Cooke (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 59.

2. On perceptions of the importance of the public good and political virtue, see, as a starting point, Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1969). Helpful discussions among the more recent efforts include Daniel T. Rodgers, "Republicanism: the Career of a Concept," *Journal of American History* 79 (June 1992): 11-38; Daniel W. Howe, "The Political Psychology of *The Federalist*," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 44 (July 1987): 485-509; James T. Kloppenberg, "The Virtues of Liberalism: Christianity, Republicanism, and Ethics in Early American Political Discourse," *Journal of American History* 74 (June 1987): 9-33.

3. See Joyce Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s* (New York: New York University Press, 1984); Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1980).

preventing wars – plans which often involved dispute resolution by international representative bodies – were either ignored or ridiculed as utopian.[4]

Although Enlightenment libertarian thought regarded warfare as "the most devastating of disasters, which only irresponsible kings can initiate, fanatical priests can encourage, cruel soldiers can love, and the foolish rabble can admire,"[5] philosophers generally did not expect it to be eliminated, at least as long as the people who paid in lives and taxes were not in control of governments. "The spirit of monarchy is war and expansion," Montesquieu wrote in *The Spirit of Laws*, "the spirit of republics is peace and moderation." Montesquieu, like many writers of the Enlightenment, recognized a right of self-defense, but did not think blood should be shed for arbitrary principles of glory, propriety or utility. "Above all, let one not speak of the prince's glory," he warned, "his glory is his arrogance; it is a passion and not a legitimate right."[6] Immanuel Kant observed that a head of state could decide on war without significant reasons and at no risk to "his banquets, hunts, pleasure palaces and court festivals." A republican constitution, however, required the consent of the people, Kant noted, and they would naturally hesitate to embark on an enterprise of death, devastation and "the crowning evil, having to take upon themselves a burden of debt which will embitter peace itself."[7]

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4. Although he formulated his own ideas for a universal federation to prevent war, Immanuel Kant admitted that "such proposals have always been ridiculed by great statesmen, and even more by heads of state, as pedantic, childish and academic ideas." "On the Common Saying: 'This May be True in Theory, but does not Apply in Practice,'" in *Kant: Political Writings*, 2nd ed., ed. Hans Reiss, trans. H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 92. For several examples, see M. C. Jacob, ed., *Peace Projects of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974). One of the efforts was printed, with doubts about its chances for success, by Benjamin Franklin at his press near Paris in 1782. See Pierre-André Gargaz, *A Project for Universal and Perpetual Peace* (New York: George Simpson Eddy, 1922). For an American attempt, see Sidney Kaplan, ed., "A Plan of a Peace Office for the United States by Benjamin Rush," *Massachusetts Review* 25 (Summer 1984): 269-84.

5. Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1966, 1969), 2: 401. On the views of Voltaire, Kant, and others, see ibid., 401-407. Perhaps the best-known expression of this sentiment is found in the early pages of Voltaire's *Candide*. Although he denounced wars as the immoral and unprofitable results of royal ambition, Voltaire did accept the need to take action for defensive purposes. See Constance Rowe, *Voltaire and the State* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), 134-53.

6. Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*, trans. and ed. Anne M. Cohler, Basia Carolyn Miller and Harold Samuel Stone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 132, 139. Montesquieu believed that commerce would also improve chances of peace by increasing mutual dependence of nations. Some philosophers argued that the spirit of capitalism was a rational one which would be adverse to the risks of war. See Albert O. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism Before Its Triumph* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), 78-81, 132-35. Thomas Paine thus followed a number of earlier writers by suggesting that world commerce could be "a pacific system, operating to unite mankind by rendering nations, as well as individuals, useful to each other." *The Rights of Man*, Second Part, Chapter V, in *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York: Citadel Press, 1945), 1: 400.

7. "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch," in Reiss, ed., *Kant: Political Writings*, 100. For a discussion of Kant's position as it relates to the views of other

James Madison summarized the sentiments of America's Enlightenment republicanism in a 1792 *National Gazette* essay dismissing a world peace plan advocated by Rousseau. Instead of trying to avert war and revolution by setting up international arbitration, Madison stated, Rousseau should have traced "the past frequency of wars to a will in the government independent of the will of the people" and to "the practice by each generation of taxing the principal of its debts on future generations." The disease of warfare was hereditary to hereditary rulers who did not suffer personal consequences, Madison wrote, and would continue even in republics in the absence of "permanent and constitutional maxims of conduct, which may prevail over occasional impressions, and inconsiderate pursuits." Reason and an honest calculation of the expenses of avarice and ambition – rather than reckless borrowing for military expenditures – would help to prevent "wars of folly" and to preserve unwasted resources for "wars of necessity and defence." War, Madison told the readers of the *Gazette*, should only be declared "by the authority of the people, whose toil and treasure are to support its burdens."[8]

By linking wars and the resulting human misery to royalty, Enlightenment republican philosophers and journalists undermined the traditional theory that a king was an unselfish, unifying force responsible for the people's safety and the common good.[9] Wars, said one Philadelphia newspaper, "however successful, and however advantageous to individuals, are always a losing business to the people."[10] In *The Rights of Man*, Thomas Paine traced the origins of monarchy to the leaders of roving bandits and to plunderers who divided the world into their dominions. "From such beginning of governments, what could be expected, but a continual system of war and extortion?" he asked. War is the gambling table of governments, Paine said, and meant only taxes to the farmers and manufacturers who found their economic outcome the same whether the military conquered or was defeated. "There does not exist within such government sufficient stamina whereon to ingraft reformation, " he argued, "and the shortest, easiest, and most effectual remedy, is to begin anew."[11] Those who were proud of living in a benign "Age of Reason" thus could also see the necessity of being a bellicose "Age of Revolution." One fundamental justification for rebellion against royalty was the belief that peace would be more likely where the people themselves ruled.

Both the recognition that people suffered in war and the idea that public opinion was the best guide in the matter were given extensive discussion in early America – especially in the press where it was possible to convey reactions to events in a relatively timely and convenient way. Journalists saw themselves as participating in the propagation of Enlightenment thought and spoke frequently

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philosophers, see Thomas L. Pangle, "The Moral Basis of National Security: Four Historical Perspectives," in Klaus Knorr, ed. *Historical Dimensions of National Security Problems* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1976), 307-72.

8. "For the *National Gazette*," January 31, 1792, in *The Papers of James Madison*, ed. William T. Hutchinson et al. (Chicago and Charlottesville: University of Chicago Press and University Press of Virginia, 1977--), 14: 206-209.

9. On the notion of the king as benevolent unifier, see Jerrilyn Greene Marston, *King and Congress, The Transfer of Political Legitimacy, 1774-1776* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 20-34.

10 . [Philadelphia] *General Advertiser*, October 16, 1790.

11. *The Rights of Man*, Second Part, Chapter III, in Foner, ed., *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, 1: 361-63.

of their ambitions to impart libertarian wisdom and useful information to the public.[12] To a great extent, original writings in periodicals and pamphlets were responsible for advancing the ideological debates of a nation in the act of creating itself. Books and European philosophers seem to have played less of a direct role in this process than is often assumed. The press allowed large numbers of Americans to contemplate issues simultaneously and to respond to each other rapidly.[13]

Newspapers and magazines, in particular, were in a position to create a shared political culture which extended even into remote rural areas.[14] Their penetration and periodicity allowed them to speak to many people at the same time, shaping first impressions of the news and reinforcing views through repetition. Readers could feel they were connected to governmental affairs and had the information necessary to make assessments of those in authority.[15] Saying that he lived some distance from the city, but had "benefit of the news prints, which I peruse at leisure hours," the author of a 1793 letter to a Boston editor said, "I esteem it a great privilege, and it affords me a secret satisfaction to sit at home and be informed of the affairs of this great and happy country, from one end to the other." "Rusticus," however, added that he was nevertheless sad at seeing so much journalistic abuse of President Washington after he issued a proclamation of neutrality in the war that had erupted between England and the French republic.[16] Specific decisions on war and peace were, of course, always controversial, but the existence of an unfettered periodical press allowed the public an expanded opportunity to examine failures of policy and mistakes of the military.

Attention to the brutality of war was evident in the earliest days of American journalism. In the only issue of the first newspaper to be attempted in the colonies, *Publick Occurrences, Both Forreign and Domestick*, Benjamin Harris in 1690 mentioned the upheavals facing Louis XIV and depicted England's Indian allies in a campaign against Canada as "miserable Salvages, in whom we have too much confided." Stating that he wanted to provide accurate news in a time of confusion and promising to correct any mistakes, Harris published accounts of atrocities on all sides, including one in which a Capt. Mason "cut the faces, and ript the bellies of two *Indians*, and threw a third over board in sight of the *French*, who informing the other *Indians* of it, they have in revenge barbarously Butcher'd forty Captives of ours that were in their hands." Before another issue could be printed, the governor and council of Massachusetts, noting the strong nature of the pieces, ordered the suppression of the unlicensed

12. Jeffery A. Smith, "The Enticements of Change and America's Enlightenment Journalism," in Jeremy D. Popkin, ed., *Media and Revolution: Comparative Perspectives* (Lexington, K.Y.: University Press of Kentucky, forthcoming).

13. For a similar discussion of how Enlightenment journalism made an impact on another nation, see Jeremy D. Popkin, *Revolutionary News: The Press in France, 1789-1799* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990).

14. On the rural market for print, see David Jaffee, "The Village Enlightenment in New England, 1760-1820," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 47 (July 1990): 327-46.

15. These roles of the press are discussed in Jeremy D. Popkin, *News and Politics in the Age of Revolution: Jean Luzac's* Gazette de Leyde (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989).

16. [Boston] *Columbian Centinel*, November 23, 1793.

newspaper.[17] Harris had not only published without submitting to censorship, but had also dared to question behavior in the most emotional of all public matters – war.

Prior restraint soon ended in England and America, however, and accounts of armed conflict became a staple of newspapers. In *The Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith complained about how comfortably people in a great empire could be informed about distant military actions. Seemingly not inconvenienced at all because their government borrowed funds rather than raised the taxes necessary to pay for the war, they had "the amusement of reading in the newspapers the exploits of their own fleets and armies," Smith wrote, and were disappointed when peace ended the entertainment as well as "a thousand visionary hopes of conquest and national glory, from a longer continuance of the war."[18] In situations with more immediate danger, of course, the realities were difficult to ignore. Many of the government cases brought against eighteenth-century American journalists were responses to critical writings on delicate defense-related matters, from James Franklin being jailed in 1722 for a snide comment on the failure of officials to pursue coastal pirates to the prosecutions under the Sedition Act of 1798 which were, in large part, the result of hostilities with a much more powerful nation, France.[19]

For Americans, war was less a diversion carried out by professional mercenaries and more an actual experience on the frontier and, during the Revolution, throughout the region. Not only soldiers like George Washington, but also Enlightenment sages such as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson knew the sufferings of war at close range. Benjamin Franklin's *A Narrative of the Late Massacres*, a fervent pamphlet condemning the Paxton Boys' revenge killings of peaceful Indian men, women and children, stated that the victims' only crime seemed to be having red skin and black hair. "What had little Boys and Girls done; what could Children of a Year old, Babes at the Breast, what could they do, that they too must be shot and hatcheted?" he asked.[20] Franklin conveyed bitter wisdom when, among his almanac's aphorisms, he wrote, "Wars bring scars." Other Poor Richard sayings – including "Mad Kings and mad

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17. Clyde A. Duniway, *The Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906), 68-69; Arthur B. Tourtellot, *Benjamin Franklin: The Shaping of Genius, The Boston Years* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1977), 229-30. The only issue of *Publick Occurrences* was dated September 25, 1690. For a sanitized version of the text which leaves out a rumor Harris printed that Louis XIV had slept with his son's wife, see Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States, From 1690 to 1872* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 44-48.

18. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. Edwin Cannan (New York: Modern Library, 1937), 872. Echoes of Smith's complaint about fighting now and paying later appeared in the writings of Kant and Madison, as quoted above, and in Washington's farewell address. *Washington's Farewell Address*, ed. Victor H. Paltsits (New York: New York Public Library, 1935), 152.

19. See Jeffery A. Smith, *Printers and Press Freedom: The Ideology of Early American Journalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 126-61; Jeffery A. Smith, "A Reappraisal of Legislative Privilege and American Colonial Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly* 61 (Spring 1984): 97-103, 141; Jeffery A. Smith, "Public Opinion and the Press Clause," *Journalism History* 14 (Spring 1987): 8-17.

20. *A Narrative of the Late Massacres*, 1764, in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree et al. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1959), 11: 55, 65.

Bulls, are not to be held by treaties and packthread" and "The greatest monarch on the proudest throne, is oblig'd to sit upon his own arse" – do not suggest reverence for royalty. Monarchy itself, Americans were concluding, was at the root of the problem despite all pretenses of grandeur and protection. Old and corrupt European institutions, it appeared, were destroying peace and prosperity – even in North America. "Kings have long Arms, but Misfortune longer," Poor Richard remarked.[21]

The press encouraged such observations by squarely placing the blame for the horrors of war on kings. In 1746, for instance, a magazine published in Boston provided a graphic description of the aftermath of a battle in Italy with commentary on the senseless slaughter of soldiers who only hours before had been alive and animated. "These reflections may be equally applied to many other occasions, wherein men have been blindly sacrificed by the thousands to the folly or ambition of monarchs," the editor concluded.[22] After news reports arriving early in 1771 indicated that England might be considering war with Spain, Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* offered readers Swiftian accounts from London of kings going to battle over a bit of land or an argument about the color of a woman's eyebrows. Accompanying remarks said that centuries of war in Europe had produced little more than misery and that for each great ruler, there were a thousand who disgraced humanity. A letter to the paper signed "D. R." said that the thirst to add to wealth and the desire to distract a country from domestic unrest were the causes of war. War, the correspondent reminded those who were excited at the prospect, meant "the Reign of Violence; the License of Robbery and Murder, the Fatigues, the Dangers, the Sickness, the Wounds, the Death of Thousands, the Desolation of Provinces; the Waste of the human Species; the Mourning of Parents; the Cries and Tears of Widows and Orphans."[23]

America's prerevolutionary press presented loathsome images of the depravity and designs of enemy royalty. After the Duke of Cumberland routed France's Jacobite invaders in Scotland in 1746 and ruthlessly killed the survivors, colonists were given a feast of patriotic propaganda. Readers of the *South-Carolina Gazette* were told, for example, that Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender who led the invasion, had left behind a model of the Bastille, instructions for sodomy "after the *Italian* Manner," and a "Bundle of Rods, to whip the Nakedness of pretty Maids, with *Spanish* Padlocks for private Uses."[24] During the French and Indian War, colonial writers contrasted French absolutism and cunning with Anglo-American love of liberty and justice. "The King of France has an arbitrary Authority to do what he pleases," said an essay by "Virginia Centinel," "though his Intellects do not enable him, nor his Heart

21. *Poor Richard*, 1737, 1745, 1746, and 1752, in Labaree et al. eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 2: 166; 3: 5, 66; 4: 247. Despite the successful outcome of the American Revolution, Franklin expressed near despair at the killing and waste of the war. Benjamin Franklin to Joseph Priestly, June 7, 1782, in *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Albert H. Smyth (New York: Macmillan Co., 1905-1907), 8: 451-53; Benjamin Franklin to Sir Joseph Banks, July 27, 1783, in ibid., 9: 74.

22. *The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle* 3 (September 1746): 394.

23. [Williamsburg] *Virginia Gazette*, January 10, 17, 1771. For a similar treatment of monarchs going to war over trifles (an elephant and a window), see *The New York Weekly Magazine* 1 (November 25, 1795): 161.

24. [Charleston] *South-Carolina Gazette*, December 15, 1746. See also the *Gazette* issues of April 13 and 20, 1747.

incline him, to do much Good."[25] Ironically, when the alliance was formed with France during the Revolutionary War, patriot journalists, some of whom received pay from the French minister, found themselves in the position of glorifying Louis XVI while loyalist newspapers said that the French had sinister plans for imposing the authority of their king and the pope on the United States.[26]

To denounce a Louis was, of course, only to condemn the evils of an authoritarian adversary rather than all monarchs. Anglo-American libertarians ritualistically congratulated themselves in the press and elsewhere for having a "mixed" political system which balanced the three classic forms of government – monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy – in the king, Lords, and Commons. In theory, the nation would thus have the advantages of the three forms and expect each to prevent excesses in the others. The monarch could provide leadership without sliding into despotism, the nobility could supply wisdom without fomenting factions, and the people could protect liberty without creating anarchy.[27] At the time of the French and Indian War, the colonial press may have dispensed blistering criticism of official policies and behavior,[28] but even the caustic "Virginia Centinel," whose depiction of "Vice and Debauchery" in the Virginia regiment brought Col. George Washington and fellow officers close to resignation, hailed mixed government where each part "may be a proper Check on the other, on any Appearance of Deviation from the public Good."[29]

Praised by Montesquieu and others as having successfully combined stability, sense, and freedom, the British constitution was a source of enormous pride for Americans. "How must it swell the Breast of every BRITON with Transport!" William Livingston wrote in his *Independent Reflector* in 1752, "while he surveys the despicable Slaves of *unlimited* Princes, to reflect, that his Person and Property are guarded by Laws, which the Sovereign himself cannot infringe." Livingston, a journalist and lawyer who became a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1787, provided a standard recitation of the joys of liberty and horrors of tyranny while heaping praise on England's king and constitution. A constitutional monarch could be a "Father" and "Benefactor," but absolute rulers were "more like imperial Wolves, or rather Beasts in human Shape, than rational and intelligent Beings." Intoxicated by power, the *Reflector* essay continued, despots waged war even on their own people, taking royal amusement in rapine and plunder and squandering lives and fortunes. "In *limited*

25. *New-York Gazette: or, The Weekly Post-Boy*, November 1, 1756.
26. William C. Stinchcombe, *The American Revolution and the French Alliance* (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1969), 104-32. For examples of loyalist writings, see [New York] *Royal Gazette*, October 17, 31, 1778; January 6, 1779.
27. See Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic*, 3-45, 197-202. For an example of colonial self-satisfaction under limited monarchy, see [New Haven] *Connecticut Gazette*, April 12, 1755.
28. See Alan Rogers, *Empire and Liberty: American Resistance to British Authority, 1755-1763* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974). For an example of a reader complaining that published criticisms were divisive and an editor's response, see *New-York Gazette: or, the Weekly Post-Boy*, November 8, 1756.
29. *New-York Gazette: or, the Weekly Post-Boy*, November 1, 1756. For the attack on the Virginia regiment, see *Virginia Gazette*, September 3, 1756; Worthington C. Ford, ed., "Washington and 'Centinel X,'" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 22 (1898): 436-51.

Monarchies, the Pride and Ambition of Princes, and their natural Lust for Domination, are check'd and restrained," Livingston said. "If they violate their Oath, and sap the fundamental Constitution of the State, the People have a Right to resist them."[30]

Responding to ministerial policies adopted after the French and Indian War, the American colonists, so self-satisfied under the British constitution at mid-century, resisted what they regarded as royal encroachments on their civil liberties and as failures to recognize their rights of representation. Such constitutional violations should be opposed, the commonplace logic asserted, in order to avert the spread of tyranny. In the Stamp Act crisis and in the years that followed, Americans protested in great numbers, but tended to hold corruption in the ministry responsible for their grievances rather than launch direct attacks on George III himself. Yet, over time, the king's contempt for American petitions and his assent to the Intolerable Acts, the Port Bill, and other measures came to be interpreted as an abdication of his role as protector of the colonies. The balance of the constitution was shifting toward despotism, Americans believed, and they reluctantly concluded, after a decade of raising objections and receiving harsh responses, that their only other alternative was taking up arms. The king had, indeed, decided that only force would work.[31] In a letter typical of the sense of betrayal of affection that pervaded the colonies, "T. H." addressed the king in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, saying:

> you have been pleased to call yourself the father of the people, you have acted with little love towards them, and have treated them not as children but as slaves; denying repeatedly their most submissive remonstrances, cherishing their enemies, and expelling from your confidence men who had your Majesty's welfare and the people's good at heart.[32]

With the help of journalists who played on themes of slavery if constitutional liberties were not respected,[33] George III was, in effect, placed in the same despised category as other monarchs and the colonists interpreted his actions as a virtual declaration of war against them. Having regularly attributed the lack of peace in the world to the rapacious, callous conduct of kings and portrayed themselves as merely interested in legitimate self-defense,[34] many Americans were ready to discard ideas of dependence on the king and see separation as necessary, especially after the battles at Lexington and Concord in April 1775. Still, large numbers had enough remaining loyalty to the crown or fear of war or both to hesitate.

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30. "The Different Effects of an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy," December 21, 1752, in William Livingston et al., *The Independent Reflector*, ed. Milton M. Klein (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), 76-81.
31. See Pauline Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1972); Barbara W. Tuchman, *The March of Folly: From Troy to Vietnam* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 128-231; Marston, *King and Congress*, 35-99.
32. [Philadelphia] *Pennsylvania Packet*, September 12, 1774.
33. See Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967).
34. See Reginald C. Stuart, *War and American Thought: From the Revolution to the Monroe Doctrine* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1982).

Thomas Paine addressed both concerns in *Common Sense* published in January 1776. Reaching estimated sales of 120,000 copies within three months in a country with only a few million colonists,[35] the pamphlet was the journalistic sensation of its time. Paine began with an analysis of the "boasted" but "imperfect" English Constitution and said that it was "farcical" to say that the three elements checked each other, that in reality the king was the "overbearing part." He then blasted the institution of monarchy and labeled George III "the Royal Brute," a man "that with the pretended title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and composedly sleep with their blood upon his soul." Saying that "Europe is too thickly planted with Kingdoms, to be long at peace," Paine insisted that having a connection with England would involve America in future European wars and that the nation's true interest was to be a neutral trading partner with Europe rather than a large country subservient to a small island. "Everything that is right or reasonable pleads for separation," said *Common Sense*. "The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'TIS TIME TO PART."[36]

Later in 1776, the Declaration of Independence contrasted the "inalienable rights" of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and the necessity of self-rule with the status of the American colonists. That document, which consisted mostly of a list of hostile acts ascribed to George III, addressed the world with accusations that the king had "a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny" and that he was at that moment sending "large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation."[37] Having transformed their opinions of George III by concluding his reign was one of unconstitutional oppression rather than one concerned with approving what the Declaration called "laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good," colonists of the patriot persuasion believed they had ample justifications for fighting a rebellion – self-defense and a better, more peaceful future.[38] Americans had to be resigned to the necessity of war, said a 1779 essay in *The United States Magazine*, because tyranny had to be stopped by every people themselves and the conflict could be seen as "one of those beneficial operations of nature, designed by the Creator to remove present evil, and guard against its more fatal consequences."[39]

In the anxious months at the close of the war, General Washington, determined to play the role of the virtuous Cincinnatus rather than Caesar, made a point of deferring to democratic authority in a series of symbolic actions. In

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35. Richard Gimbel, *Thomas Paine: A Bibliographical Check List of Common Sense With An Account of its Publication* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), 57.

36. [Thomas Paine], *Common Sense*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: R. Bell, 1776), 6, 8, 10, 37-38, 47, 57.

37. On the actual behavior of the military, see Stephen Conway, 'The great mischief Complain'd of': Reflections on the Misconduct of British Soldiers in the Revolutionary War," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 47 (July 1990): 370-90.

38. John Locke had argued that a people had a right to defend themselves when their king entered into a state of war with them. On this point, see Forrest McDonald, *Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1985), 145.

39. *The United States Magazine* 1 (November 1779): 472.

1783, he used a moving appeal to public-spirited patriotism to stop a group of his officers, disgruntled at having their pay in arrears and no prospect for pensions from Congress, from resorting to force. Instead of reclaiming New York in triumph after the British evacuation, he rode into the city at the side of Governor George Clinton. Before and after speaking at an emotional ceremony for resigning his commission, one with carefully choreographed gestures of mutual respect, he bowed to the members of Congress, who removed hats but did not bow in return. The president of Congress, Thomas Mifflin, responded, acknowledging that Washington had conducted himself with "wisdom and fortitude invariably regarding the rights of civil power through all disasters and changes."[40]

Recognizing the advantages of having one leader ultimately responsible for military decisions, the framers of the Constitution made an elected civilian commander-in-chief, but, fearing the executive would misuse power as kings had done, they gave the authority to declare war, to raise and regulate the armed forces, and to "provide for the common defense" to the people's representatives in Congress. The grant of such "defense" powers to an elected body was a departure from English practice where Parliament was largely relegated to the role of appropriating funds.[41] A consensus had been reached that war powers were legislative, that the president, in the words of one of Alexander Hamilton's *Federalist* essays, would be merely the nation's "first General and Admiral."[42] Writing from Paris, Thomas Jefferson told James Madison that the Constitution had given "one effectual check to the Dog of war by transferring the power of letting him loose from the Executive to the Legislative body, from those who are to spend to those who are to pay."[43]

In articulating their hopes for the nation's future at the end of the eighteenth century, American statesmen and journalists sketched out a picture of the United States as a peaceful republic, far from the costly warfare of Europe. The early numbers of the newspaper series *The Federalist* said that the union being proposed would be strong enough to preserve peace within and between states as well as with foreign nations.[44] Stressing the importance of "national

40. Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 582-84; Garry Wills, *Cincinnatus, George Washington and the Enlightenment* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1984), 3-16; "Report of a Committee on Arrangements for the Public Audience," December 22, 1783, "Washington's Address to Congress Resigning his Commission," December 23, 1783, and "Report of a Committee on the Response by the President of Congress," December 22, 1783, in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950--), 6: 409, 411-13.

41. McDonald, *Novus Ordo Seclorum*, 247-48; Marston, *King and Congress*, 27-28; Bernard Donahue and Marshall Smelser, "The Congressional Power to Raise Armies: The Constitutional and Ratifying Conventions, 1787-1788," *Review of Politics* 33 (April 1971): 202-211; Charles A. Lofgren, "War-Making Under the Constitution: The Original Understanding," *Yale Law Journal* 81 (March 1972): 672-702; W. Taylor Reveley, III, "Constitutional Allocation of the War Powers Between the President and Congress: 1787-1788," *Virginia Journal of International Law* 15 (Fall 1974): 73-147.

42. Alexander Hamilton, "The Federalist No. 69," in Cooke ed., *The Federalist*, 465.

43. Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, September 6, 1789, in Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 15: 397.

44. See Nos. 3 through 9 in Cooke, ed., *The Federalist*, 13-56.

security" and "self preservation,"[45] *Federalist* essays were optimistic about the ability of the nation to avoid what Hamilton called "the ambitious enterprizes and vainglorious pursuits of a Monarchy,"[46] but warned that the United States could still be drawn into wars by other countries that did not follow republican rules. John Jay observed that kings had many motives that were not consistent with justice or the opinions and interests of their subjects. He wrote that "absolute monarchs will often make war when their nations are to get nothing by it, but for purposes and objects merely personal, such as, a thirst for military glory, revenge for personal affronts; ambition or private compacts to aggrandize or support their particular families, or partizans."[47]

Washington's farewell address, which was actually a newspaper essay rather than a speech, and Jefferson's first inaugural address, which expressed delight at being "separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe," were among the statements by leaders which suggested that America, despite its relative weakness, was in a position to carry on peaceful pursuits without becoming embroiled in monarchical strife. A government created by the people for themselves, it seemed, could avoid war, at least if it was far enough removed from what Washington's farewell called "the toils of European ambition, Rivalship, Interest, Humour or Caprice."[48] During his presidency, which he left hailed by many as the Cincinnatus, savior, and even "father" of the country,[49] Washington attempted to pursue a course of republican restraint in matters of war and peace.

Under Washington's leadership, the United States managed to avoid deep involvement in the war which spread across Europe in the 1790s as republican France fought a series of coalitions that each included England. Many Americans, at least initially, regarded the conflict as an expansion of the struggle against tyranny that their own revolution had begun, or, as journalists sometimes put it, "the cause of humanity" against "the cause of kings."[50] France, complained a Philadelphia newspaper correspondent, was "left to contend alone, unaided, unsupported, against the united efforts of imperial robbers and crowned villany, the sworn and eternal enemies of mankind."[51] Support declined, however, as news of the continuing internal violence and upheavals of the French Revolution reached America. Advocates of France became defensive, attempting to excuse the executions of the king and others by blaming the long history of monarchical oppression and the remaining threat of royalist influence. Americans, they argued in the press, had not faced such close and ruthless

45. See, for example, Alexander Hamilton, "The Federalist No. 29," in Cooke, ed., *The Federalist*, 182, 187.
46. Alexander Hamilton, "The Federalist No. 34" in Cooke, ed., *The Federalist*, 213.
47. John Jay, "The Federalist No. 4," in Cooke, ed., *The Federalist*, 19.
48. Thomas Jefferson, "First Inaugural Address," March 4, 1801, in *The American Enlightenment: The Shaping of the American Experiment and a Free Society*, ed. Adrienne Koch (New York: George Braziller, 1965), 405; Paltsits, ed. *Washington's Farewell Address*, 156.
49. For samples of the generally rapturous press assessments of Washington's career, which were more subdued or even hostile in the Jeffersonian newspapers, see Paltsits, ed., *Washington's Farewell Address*, 55-74.
50. See, e. g., [Philadelphia] *General Advertiser*, July 17, August 18, October 26, 1792; March 15, 1793.
51. [Philadelphia] *General Advertiser*, March 15, 1793.

enemies in their own revolution.[52] Critics of France were able to argue--especially after the Directory assumed executive authority in 1795--that the country's new leaders had succumbed to what a newspaper essay by Alexander Hamilton called the "cravings of despotic rapacity."[53]

The sporadic continuation of the European war and the rise of Napoleon brought an end to visionary hopes of rapid republican triumph in the world. In 1797, an essay from a French newspaper reprinted in Philip Freneau's New York *Time Piece* expressed wonder at how, even in an "Age of Reason," Europe, the center of the world's information and sophistication, could fall prey to the horrors of war. "There cannot be a peculiar system of morality for the Governors of nations," the essay stated. "Every war that is not undertaken for the protection of the frontiers, or to defend allies unjustly attacked, is a crime against society and humanity." Reviewing the history of conquest, the writer noted that ambitious leaders like Caesar, Alexander, and Louis XIV could draw unthinking multitudes all too easily into war. People tended "to admire whatever is gigantic, and to deify the Colossus that overwhelms them," the essay concluded. "Wisdom alone is able to destroy these ancient prejudices, and to overturn these old idols."[54]

Americans may have avoided the carnage, but their disagreements over policies toward the belligerents did help spawn political parties--the Federalists, who tended to favor Britain, and the Jeffersonian Republicans, who were sympathetic to France. Debates ensued in the press over America's 1778 treaty obligations to France and whether Washington was going beyond his authority in declaring neutrality when, both sides agreed, Congress had been given sole power over matters of war.[55] British interference with American shipping beginning in 1793 brought proposals from the Republicans for commercial sanctions and from the Federalists for increasing military expenditures. When James Madison, the de facto leader of the Republicans, heard some of his opponents in Congress advocate allowing the president to declare war and raise armies while they were in recess, he responded forcefully in a pamphlet defending commercial actions as the safest ones and linking America's fate to that of republican France. Lecturing his adversaries on the Constitution and the dangers of their policies, he wrote:

> Of all the enemies to public liberty war is, perhaps, the most to be dreaded, because it comprises and develops the germ of every other. War is the parent of armies; from these proceed debts and taxes; and armies, and debts, and taxes are the known instruments for bringing the many under the domination of the few. In war, too, the discretionary power of the Executive is

52. See, e. g., [Philadelphia] *General Advertiser*, September 5, 1791; November 11, December 12, 1792; January 25, March 15, 22, 26, 1793.
53. "The Stand No. VI," April 19, 1798, in *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. Harold C. Syrett et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961-1987), 21: 437.
54. *The Time Piece, and Literary Companion*, March 15, 1797.
55. See, e. g., "Pacifus No. 1," June 29, 1793, in Syrett, et al.,.eds.,*The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 15: 33-43; "'Helvidius' Number 1," August 24, 1793, in Hutchinson et al., eds., *The Papers of James Madison*, 15: 66-74. On the Helvidius series in which Madison warned that war led to executive aggrandizement, see Adrienne Koch, *Jefferson and Madison: The Great Collaboration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 145-47.

> extended; its influence in dealing out offices, honors, and emoluments is multiplied; and all the means of seducing the minds, are added to those of subduing the force, of the people.[56]

The political journalism of the 1790s, perhaps the most extreme and heated in American history,[57] often consisted of variations on the Republican theme that the Federalists were war-mongering monarchists and the Federalist charge that the Republicans were French-inspired radical democrats ready to revolt and cut off heads. A contributor to a Federalist newspaper in Boston, for example, used the key terms in his party's propaganda lexicon to describe Republican leaders and writers in 1794. "There is no doubt that profligate men are employed, and there is little that they are *hired* to prepare the public for anarchy and war," he said. "One step towards both, is, to misrepresent and traduce the government, to render the advocates for peace and order suspected, and in this way to remove them from places of trust, where they may oppose this wicked conspiracy with success."[58] Later the same year a Republican newspaper in Philadelphia published satirical entries from a spurious Federalist-style dictionary which included a definition of "Jacobin," the term for radical French democrats that was applied as an insult to the Jeffersonians. A "Jacobin" in Federalist parlance, according to the Republican paper, was "Any person who opposes the folly of the present war, or any of the measures of his majesty's ministers."[59]

In 1798, the Federalists reached the point of trying to silence their opponents with the Sedition Act, a temporary law they said was necessary at a time when it appeared naval conflicts might draw the United States into war with France. Over the objections of the Republicans who pointed to the First Amendment's guarantee that Congress shall make "no law" abridging freedom of the press, the majority party passed and John Adams signed legislation making it a crime to criticize the president, Congress or the federal government in general. Citing Republican newspaper aspersions of Adams as a mock monarch and complaints that the country was headed toward war and despotism, Federalist members of Congress justified their action as an effort to stop treasonous conspiracies against "the government," the Hamiltonian term of British origin used to identify the administration and its supporters in Congress. The rise of the Republican political movement, which had missed electing Jefferson to the presidency by only three electoral votes in 1796, was, in effect, regarded as beneath the protection of the Constitution. The federal statute and state prosecutions were used to imprison, harass or force out of business most of the leading Jeffersonian journalists of the time for making remarks at odds with the Adams administration.[60] Truth was a defense, but journalists were arrested for

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56. *Political Observations*, April 20, 1795, in Hutchinson et al., eds. *The Papers of James Madison*, 15: 518.

57. See Jeffery A. Smith, *Franklin and Bache: Envisioning the Enlightened Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Lance Banning, *The Jeffersonian: Persuasion, Evolution of a Party Ideology* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978).

58. [Boston] *Columbian Centinel*, March 5, 1794.

59. [Philadelphia] *General Advertiser*, September 27, 1794.

60. Annals of Congress, 5 Cong. 2 sess, 2093-2102; James M. Smith, *Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties* (Ithaca, N. Y.:

making statements of opinion that were neither provably true nor false, statements such as ones characterizing Adams as having "an unbounded thirst for ridiculous pomp" or being a "hoary headed incendiary" seeking war with France. The Vermont Congressman who published the first statement was fined and sentenced to four months in jail; the pamphleteer who wrote the second was fined and sentenced to nine months.[61]

By the late eighteenth century, then, the concept of the monarch as protector and paterfamilias had been subjected to severe assault in the press and a constitution had been written to place more authority over military matters in the hands of the national legislature. Still, war in Europe forced the United States to respond to the pressures of international politics. Questions emerged over the authority of the executive in wartime and the rights of constitutionally protected journalists to discuss conflicts between nations. Replacing, in a sense, George III, George Washington had come to embody a new republican model of the president--rather than the king--as trusted father and protector. With the Alien and Sedition Acts, John Adams and the Federalist party adopted an early version of the national security state. "At the close of our revolution war the phantom of perpetual peace danced before the eyes of every body," said a 1798 newspaper essay by Alexander Hamilton, an essay calling for a "limited and mitigated state of war" and increased defense spending. "We see at this early period with how much difficulty war has been parried and that with all our efforts to preserve peace we are now in a state of partial hostility."[62] At the same time Madison worried that Adams was taking steps toward war that violated the Constitution by usurping the role of Congress. The executive "is the branch of power most interested in war, & most prone to it," Madison wrote to Jefferson. The willingness of the Federalists to defer to presidential authority, he felt, was placing "the peace of the Country in that Department which the Constitution distrusts as most ready without cause to renounce it."[63]

The nation in 1798 was contemplating a war which was never declared, but which nevertheless proved costly in terms of military preparations and civil liberties. Taxes and borrowing were authorized and the First Amendment was suspended because of the combination of politics and paranoia in the minds of politicians like Hamilton who warned his readers that America could soon be surrendering its sovereignty and making a new government "according to the fancy of the Directory."[64] The expenses and excesses of the Half-War with France helped to destroy the Federalists in public opinion and bring Jefferson and his supporters into the national government in the election of 1800. Yet, the

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Cornell University Press, 1956); John D. Stevens, "Congressional History of the 1798 Sedition Law," *Journalism Quarterly* 43 (Summer 1966): 247-56. Two indications of the political nature of the act are that it was written to expire on the day in 1801 that John Adams would end his term in office and that the statute was not designed to protect the Republican vice president, Thomas Jefferson.

61. "Trial of Matthew Lyon for a Seditious Libel," in *State Trials of the United States*, ed. Francis Wharton (Philadelphia: Casey and Hart: 1849), 333-37; "Trial of James Thompson Callendar for a Seditious Libel," in ibid., 688-718.

62. "The Stand No. VI," April 19, 1798, in Syrett, et al.., eds., *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 21: 436, 438.

63. James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, February 1798, in *The Writings of James Madison*, ed. Gaillard Hunt, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900-1910), 6: 312.

64. "The Stand No. VI," April 19, 1798, in Syrett, ed., *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 21: 435.

crisis revealed patterns later generations of Americans would follow. Despite its Enlightenment aspirations of concentrating on peaceful pursuits, isolated from the conflicts of other countries, the United States found itself tormented by fears of foreign nations and reacting with near hysteria. In particular, the Sedition Act demonstrated the willingness of some Americans to disregard the Bill of Rights and to attempt to silence those who expressed dissenting views.

The Enlightenment republican remedy for war, as Thomas Paine depicted it in *The Rights of Man*, was revolution aimed at changing the "moral condition" of nations. "The inhabitants of every country, under the civilization of laws, easily associate together," he wrote, "but governments being yet in an uncivilized state, and almost continually at war, they pervert the abundance which civilized life produces to carry on the uncivilized part to a greater extent."[65] Paine predicted that monarchy would be so discredited that it would be eliminated from "the enlightened countries" of Europe by the end of the century,[66] but Immanuel Kant, writing at the same time, observed that the world was still a long way from being morally mature and that improvements could not be expected "as long as states apply all their resources to their vain and violent schemes of expansion" rather than to educating the minds of their citizens. Kant hoped that in time democratic decision making and international organizations would play a role in preserving peace, but he maintained that "practical moral reason" would triumph only when the mounting debts and distress of war weakened nations to the point that "sheer exhaustion must eventually perform what goodwill ought to have done."[67]

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65 . *The Rights of Man*, Second Part, Chapter V, in Foner ed., *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, 1: 399, 400.

66. *The Rights of Man*, Preface to Second Part, in Foner ed., *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, 1:352.

67. "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose," in Reiss, ed., *Kant: Political Writings*, 49; "On the Common Saying: 'This May be True in Theory, but it does not Apply in Practice,'" in ibid., 90, 92.

American Journalism Book Reviews

Nancy Roberts, Minnesota, Editor

Glenn C. Altschuler and David I. Grossvogel, ***Changing Channels: America in "TV Guide."*** University of Illinois Press, 1992. 224 pp. Cloth, $21.95.

American magazines reflect American society. One only needs to stop by the nearest newsstand to discover the latest trends and fads affecting and shaping the masses.

This theory was the premise on which *Changing Channels: America in "TV Guide"* has been written. *TV Guide* is a mass medium (a magazine reaching 20 million circulation at its peak circulation) serving another mass medium (network television, cable, and pay television).

The book is an attempt to show the working relationship between the two mass media. Since its early days, *TV Guide* has benefited "from the fear and scorn newspapers lavished on television," and television has benefited from *TV Guide's* "useful service in an attractive package."

The book's first part, "The Mass Medium's Mass Voice," is a detailed account, not of the history of the magazine, as much as the content of the magazine. The authors have read every page of every article in the magazine, and it shows. The minute details, supported by interviews and cover dates, provide the readers with a content analysis of the articles the magazine used to run. It is so detailed that at some stages it approaches overkill. After all, *TV Guide* is "a magazine about a much-maligned medium" and it is not easy to trace the magazine's reflective role without boring details.

The book's second part, "America in TV Guide," takes what the authors consider as the three most important issues of the past four decades- -race, women, and news- -and analyze the coverage, or lack of, the issues in the magazine. Again the examples and details are overwhelming. There is no question about what, who, or when those issues were covered. The authors demonstrate how the magazine was a "booster for television coverage of public affairs," yet, *TV Guide* "blamed the media, especially television, for giving excessive space and air time to extremists." In its coverage of the issues, *TV Guide's* editors walked on a tight rope. They were not willing to rock the boat. "Good intentions and impressive results, according to *TV Guide*, definitely answered the complaints of black radicals and their white allies."

Changing Channels is will documented book on the contents of *TV Guide*. Yet, one can argue and successfully defend the case that its focus is not so much what the subtitle suggests, *America in "TV Guide"*, as much as one guy with a mission: Merrill Panitt, the editorial director of the magazine for more than 35 years. The detailed information on how Panitt carried and implemented the magazine along with founder Walter Annenberg, is generously illustrated throughout the book. The book should have been titled, *Changing Channels: Panitt in "TV Guide"*. That would have been a better reflection of what the magazine used to be for most of its life, before being sold to Rupert Murdoch in 1988.

Samir A. Husni, University of Mississippi

Walter Anastas and Maria Woroby, compilers. ***A Select Index to Svoboda. Volume One: 1893-1899.*** Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, 1990. 387pp. Paperback, $25. each volume or both for $45.

Walter Anastazievsky, compiler, with the assistance of Roman Stepchuck. ***A Select Index to Svoboda. Volume Two: 1900 to 1907.*** Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, 1991. 410 pp.

Compiled by the Immigration History Research Center (IHRC) of the University of Minnesota, these two publications exhaustively index the Ukrainian-American newspaper *Svoboda* (1893-1907), of which a complete run (1893-present) is held by the the Immigration History Research Center, one of the nation's leading collections of information on the history of U.S. immigrant groups originating from Central, Eastern and Southern Europe, and the Near East. The *Svoboda* indexes, Volumes One and Two, are meticulously and comprehensively compiled and alphabetically arranged. Each volume offers upwards of 20,000 entries that give the historian access to a vast repository of information on the Ukrainian community in the United States as reported in *Svoboda's* pages: politics, religion, education, economics, literature, science, war, and peace.

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James L. Baughman, ***The Republic of Mass Culture: Journalism, Filmmaking, and Broadcasting in America since 1941.*** Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. 257 pages. Cloth, $38.95; paper, $11.95.

The Republic of Mass Culture is well written, moves easily in its discussion of one medium after another, and engages the major issues of controversy in communication history and effects in a way that makes them accessible and sensible. Baughman also provides a variety of reasons to explain why Americans' media consumption changed between 1941 and today. Changing media economics, political and regulatory assumptions, the rise of new technologies, the rise of adolescence as a peculiar stage in life, and the shifting mores and needs of the mass audience all receive some attention. But can it be said that our media constitute a republic? Does their content represent their audiences? Although Baughman discusses the issue briefly in reference to the development of rock and roll and its appeal to adolescents, ultimately this question is left unanswered. Similar questions nagged me in reading the explanation of the content relationship between films and television programs.

Baughman's title implies that his book focuses on mass culture, with a concern both for cultural creation and on its impact on people. I expected that it reflected an interpretation of history. After reading the book, however, his title selection remained obscure.

There is also the problem of "mass culture." Actually the theme of the book is that concerns about this phenomenon are greatly exaggerated. Baughman rightly emphasizes the role of television in marginalizing other

media, forcing them to seek small and more specialized audiences. He suggests, too, that cable television has begun to erode the mass audiences for on-air television, particularly that of the networks. He concludes (p. 220), "television, the supposed primary instrument of this new cultural conformity, had in fact encouraged a diversity in all of the popular arts, and in ways unimagined by mass culture's detractors." This suggests the necessity of ceasing to discuss the concept of mass culture itself.

The book has additional strengths and weaknesses. Its strengths, in addition to those mentioned earlier, are that it is both brief and comprehensive in its discussion of various media. It does not obviously prefer one medium over another, and emphasizes the relationships among the various media as well as their individual histories. It also provides useful discussion of the content of various media, and relating this content to events and trends in the "real" world. It is thus connected to the experience of its readers. The book also contains a fair amount of detail, particularly given its concise historical treatment. This detail is both statistical and personal. Finally, Baughman has even-handedly integrated academics' and practitioners' perspectives in his treatment. Neither seems preferred

The principal weakness of the book -- other than its title -- is the failure to provide adequate citations of material. Although there is a bibliographical essay provided, most of the works cited are secondary volumes. Few essays are cited, and almost no primary source material. A variety of people are quoted in the text without citation.

There are also minor factual errors. Baughman says, for instance (pp. 46) that a television channel "required three times as much space as a radio frequency." Actually a TV channel requires thirty times the frequency space as an FM channel, rather than VHF.

Despite my reservations, I think Baughman's book is a success. Its readability, comprehensive treatment of a variety of media, and particularly their interrelationships, are major advantages. Occasionally, too, there are nuggets of information that I have not seen in other treatments of the post-World War II media, and he treats both television entertainment and the popular recording industry as seriously as he does the news. His analysis of the Public Broadcasting Service is useful, avoiding the trap of assuming it is without fault, or that it should evaluated as superior simply because it is non-commercial.

From the perspective of scholarship, it would be risky to rely too heavily on the book. It does not provide sufficient citations for that. But Baughman's analysis is sound and his insights into the significance of the media in American society are on target, even if it doesn't deliver what the title promises. For these reasons, the book deserves careful consideration for use in media courses, particularly those with an historical focus.

Robert S. Fortner, Calvin College

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James D. Bloom, ***Left Letters: The Culture Wars of Mike Gold and Joseph Freeman.*** New York: Columbia University Press, 1992. 160 pp. Cloth, $37.95.

Animated by a sense of class antagonism, the travails of immigrant assimilation, and rebellion against the cultural status quo, political radicals of

1930s both redefined much of the nation's intellectual life and, in Lionel Trilling's words, "created the American literary class as we know it." Mike Gold and his *New Masses* co-editor and protege, Joseph Freeman, are two largely forgotten figures from that struggle. They are in the tradition of earlier "oppositional" writers such as Jack London, Upton Sinclair, and John Dos Passos, sought to establish and spread the Gospel of the Old Left. The goal of this elegant monograph by Muhlenberg College's James D. Bloom is the reclamation of Gold and Freeman from the dismissive margins of intellectual history; its method is a close literary analysis of some of the more interesting examples of their "proletarian realism."

Like Eisenstein in cinema and Diego Rivera in painting, Gold and Freeman were *Kulturkampf* warriors; their target, the class-based domination of contemporary culture in the 1930's. Their chosen mission, writes Bloom, was "to wrest literary production from its academic monopoly and the hierarchies that this monopoly supports." As the leading literary Communist of the era, Gold clearly relished his role as a radical polemicist. An unrelenting critic of popular journalism, he railed against the *Police Gazette* ("an opiate"), Shirley Temple, John D. Rockefeller, Thorton Wilder, Walter Lippmann's "opportunism," and the Hearst publishing empire. His unrepentant Stalinism and willful crudeness of language, however, diminished his influence. Richard Hofstadter branded him "a hatchetman"; worse still, Leslie Fiedler could dismiss him as "the Al Jolson of the Communist movement."

Countering Lewis Mumford's claim that Gold was "one of the most promising literary talents ever sacrificed to the petrified dogmas of Russian Communism," Bloom devotes much of his argument to establishing the "literariness" of his subject's indecorous extremism. Although a number of Gold's "Change the World" columns in *New Masses* are cited (including the impassioned 1929 editorial entitled, "Go Left, Young Writers!"), Gold's autobiographical novel, *Jews Without Money*, is the principal text. By comparing it with Doctorow's *The Book of Daniel*, as well as works by Shakespeare, Blake Emerson, and Roth, Bloom makes a case for Gold's literary accomplishments, particularly his command of trope and the density and rhythms of his language.

Since the 1930s, McCarthyism, the New Criticism, the New Left and, more recently, both literary neoconservatism and mandarin academic Marxism have all profoundly affected the course of "advocacy" journalism in the United States -- and in the process much of the Depression era's radicalism has been consigned to history's dustbin. But it is an important aspect of both journalism history and American intellectual life that, for a period of time during the 1930s, Gold and his Old Left colleagues did indeed succeed in sharing, if not seizing, the means of cultural production.

David Abrahamson, New York University

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Walter M. Brasch, ***With Just Cause: Unionization of the American Journalist.*** University Press of America, 1991. 476 pp. Cloth, $47.50; paper, $24.50.

An overriding problem for the U.S. labor movement, and organizations of journalists within it, is dwindling public respect. Walter M.

Brasch's new study of media unionism is filled with respect for -- and passionate support of -- labor unions. But it is a one-sided approach that gets only part way toward his stated goal: "To demythologize what media unions are. . . hopefully bringing enough information to the readers to allow them to decide the merits of media unions. . . "

Brasch has culled excellent articles from early writings by such talents as Upton Sinclair, George Seldes and Heywood Broun, and offers us many more articles, almost all by writers long connected with organized labor. The early writers made the case for journalism unions powerfully and eloquently. Other pieces speak forcefully, too, of a need for an organization to enable reporters and other news people to deal with owners and publishers who too often over the years demonstrated arrogance matched only by greed, exploiting the sense of romance and adventure men and women found in the business.

American Newspaper Guild President Charles Dale notes, for example, how cub reporters of 50 and more years ago sometimes had to work without pay for a year or two just to break in to the business. Theat no longer happens, he points out, because of Guild-negotiated gains in wages and working conditions.

But the book has problems, organization for one. Brasch splits it into three sections -- brief union histories, their legal and historical foundations, and internal/external social issues. This division may have merit, but its leaps back and forth in time diminish the book's prime thrust.

A piece by A.H. Raskin illustrates both strengths and weaknesses of the book. Raskin, of *The New York Times*, was the pre-eminent labor reporter in the country. His piece, reprinted from the *Columbia Journalism Review*, is a penetrating, perceptive study of the Newspaper Guild promise and problems. It is excellent, but it was written in 1982. ANG President Dale, writing in 1991, touches on some Raskin concerns, but he is part of the entrenched bureaucracy that Raskin labeled as part of the problem. And Brasch and the book don't really address major issues Raskin raised about the decade ahead.

Raskin said media-owning conglomerates, "with whose scope and power the Guild is utterly unequipped to cope," are a critical Guild problem. The Guild, he said, "has miniscule leverage to battle the onrush of the electronic newspaper or to respond positively to the deluge of criticism cascading down on the press." Commenting on one Guild unit's effort to negotiate for worker involvement in management decisions, he asked: Can Guild members, better than publishers, provide the vision and practically to guide and improve newspaper performance? His questions draw no further comment : there is no updating on problems that continue and in some cases have worsened, no attempt at some perspective on all the book's fiercely partisan views.

Media unions deserve a stronger, more cohesive account of current and potential problems and a keener study of possible responses. Prof. Robert Picard, perhaps the most neutral of Brasch's contributors, has a balanced piece on "Anti-communism in the New York Guild." The book would have benefited from more articles taking a similar approach.

Two pieces toward the end lament the weakness of labor coverage by the American press. Brasch's book, by example, helps to make their point.

Ted Stanton, University of Houston

Asa Briggs, ***Serious Pursuits: Communications and Education.*** Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991. 470 pp. Index. Cloth, $44.95

Seldom does the winding down of one scholar's career give pause to others the world over. The recent retirement of British historian Asa Briggs was one of those occasions. Briggs' teaching and research spanned five decades, lastly as Provost of Worcester College at Oxford, and his contributions to labor, social, urban, and communication history were seen in 34 books. His latest, the third volume of his collected essays, appeared in Great Britain as a commemorative to his departure from Oxford. Its release of in the United States is of interest to readers of this journal because Briggs, whose career encompassed dozens of "serious pursuits," has chosen for his farewell a tribute to mass media history.

A challenge in today's historiography, says Briggs, is framing a "convergence" of mass communication and education, a notion borrowed from the works of Swedish scholar Eddi Ploman, one of the first to consider a linkage between mass media and computer technology and the effects on students of home television viewing. Briggs suggests we have reached a point at which "the screen defeats the teacher."

While Briggs' concept is thought-provoking, the essays are too ala carte to converge this media-educational "convergence." It is also clear that Briggs, through his life, seeded media history broadly in the soil of entertainment and popular culture, not journalism. Yet Briggs' tendency to roam widely, criticized in some of his other works, rewards the reader in original insight. As Derek Fraser offered in another commemorative, "Asa Briggs is the very antithesis of the historian whose repute rests on one magnum opus." Illustrative here are essays entitled "The Sussex Experience" which parlay the seventeenth-century commentary of Francis Bacon into a modern "map of learning."

Of greatest potential value to American readers may not be Briggs' ceaseless imagination but his implication that media history did not march to an American drumbeat. *Serious Pursuits* is as concise and authoritative an overview on a European perspective as has recently reached American shores. Not prominent in U.S. bibliography, Briggs is regarded by many elsewhere in the world as the singular pioneer in broadcast history for his works on the BBC; he received almost as much acclaim for his print historiography. Thus it is eye-opening that Briggs, who recalls his writings on the Victorian era, observed the penny press era almost as if it had never happened in America. Similarly, no Americans were required in his accounting of the invention of television, drawn here in the labors of Briton John Logie Baird. Not only did the BBC's ventures in radio (1922) and television (1936) predate those of the American networks, they were more significant to what evolved on the airwaves worldwide; other counties could not achieve American economies of scale and would not accept American levels of commercialism.

To label *Serious Pursuits* is to survey the cracks it falls between. It is not as useful as Briggs' sustained works as a research source and is an unlikely entry on an American student's media history reading list. It is not as useful as Briggs' sustained works as a research source and is an unlikely entry on an American student's media history reading list. It is best seen as a leisure-time selection although the reading will not be too leisurely unless one is grounded in British affairs. Still, it should be considered. In part, it reminds us that similar cultures are often the most likely to build the historical house with different

sticks. Above all, it testifies that works in media history have application in a big picture of scholarship that Asa Briggs, for a half-century, personified. That he parts by leaving his energy to media historians is worthy of special note.

Craig Allen, Arizona State University

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Peter Burke, ed., ***New Perspectives on Historical Writing***. The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992. 254 pp. Cloth, $32.50, paper, $13.95.

Journalism historians occasionally need to be rescued from the insularity of their own field. In 1980, *The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States*, commissioned by the American Historical Association, provided a convenient source for journalism historians to keep abreast of current trends and approaches to general history. This collection of essays, edited by Peter Burke of the University of Cambridge, highlights the most recent generation of historical scholarship and argues for a reintegration of different approaches to the discipline.

Burke begins the collection with a clear, cogent essay on "the new history," a phrase, coined by French scholars associated with the journal *Annales*, to describe "history written in deliberate reaction against the traditional 'paradigm' "(p. 2). According to Burke, several factors differentiate the new history from the traditional: 1) the new is concerned with virtually everything, the old mostly with politics; 2) the new analyzes structures, the old narrates events; 3) the new concentrates on ordinary people, the old emphasizes great deeds of great men; 4) the new examines a variety of evidence, the old uses official documents; 5) the new looks at trends, the old stresses individual actions; and 6) the new sees history as subjective the old reveres objectivity.

Although sympathetic to the new history's goals, Burke is not one of its advocates. Indeed, he even questions its newness, tracing some of its ideas back to the Enlightenment. More importantly, however, in the book's last chapter, Burke moves beyond the new-history approach to promote a reintegration of the traditional and new, urging historians to experiment with narrative writing, by using literary and cinematic techniques, such as flashbacks, cross-cutting, and scene development, to provide multiple viewpoints and to gain a richer, more complex understanding of the relationship between events and structures.

Between Burke's first and last chapters, there are nine essays, written mostly by European scholars, that explore the strengths and weaknesses of various historical approaches. The value of these chapters to journalism historians varies widely. Jim Sharpe's essay on history from below, Joan Scott's piece on women's history, Gwyn Prins' work on oral history, Roy Porter's thoughts on the history of reading show how to approach any area of history, including journalism, from a fresh perspective, using "multiple, converging, independent sources," in Prins' words (p. 130). They challenge historians to look at subjects and events from divergent viewpoints and to ask important questions that would help explain the complex world. Darnton particularly provides

valuable insights that journalism historians would find provocative on how the study of reading is essential to understanding the course of history.

Other essays, however, have little relevance to journalism historians. Henk Wesseling's chapter on overseas history, for example, is essentially limited to a discussion of the study of Europeans and their former colonial relationships. Ivan Gaskell's piece on images primarily involves art historians' concerns about authority, canonicity and interpretation. Giovanni Levi's essay on microhistory and Richard Tuck's chapter on political thought should have been important to journalism historians but offer little of significance.

The book's uneven applicability to journalism historians may discourage many from purchasing it or from requiring it in graduate history classes. But every historian would benefit from reading at least portions of *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*. It should serve to inspire journalism historians to stretch in the way they conduct their inquiries.

Linda Lawson, Indiana University

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Thomas D. Clark and John Sprout, ed., ***The Southern Country Editor.*** University of South Carolina Press, 3rd ed., 1991. 384 pp. Cloth, $29.95. Paper, $14.95.

A half century has passed since Thomas D. Clark researched *The Southern Country Editor*, but it's as good a read today as the 1948 Bobbs-Merrill and 1964 Smith editions.

The University of South Carolina Press has preserved Clark's book in its *Southern Classics Series* for a new generation of students and book aficionados. The author's insights into the mind of the rural South of the 1860s-1940s are worthy of a renewal of interest in the country press of the region.

This fascimile edition includes a new introduction by Gilbert C. Fite, in which he examines reviews contemporary to the first edition by Hodding Carter, Avery Craven, Frank Luther Mott and Fletcher M. Green. Only the latter two were slightly negative, with each fussing a bit about Clark's treatment of the effects of the Southern country press.

Regardless, devouring *The Southern Country Editor* is as good as relishing a plate of catfish, hush puppies, cole slaw and French fries at Reelfoot Lake.

The book offers historical context for understanding the survival of the country press into the new millenium. The lifespan of today's heirs of the country press tradition – The Hickman Couriers of Kentucky and The Western Observers of Anson, Texas – has been extended by offset press services and Macintoshes.

The Southern Country Editor's core lies in Clark's ability to probe and paint the rural Southerner and his hopes, fears, faith, bigotry, pride, political ideas, poltergeists, humor, opposite sex treatment, and his good and his evil: a Faulknerian history of the Southern mind.

Clark was at his best in analyzing and reporting the country press' depiction of racial relations, lynching and the fading of the Lost Cause. "Most country editors," wrote Clark, "revealed a poor understanding of the working of social forces among the races." He believed the country editors never appealed

more directly to the rural South's fascination with morbidity than through their detailed reports of lynchings. The Lost Cause was frequent fodder for the Southern country papers until, as Clark wrote, "Grant was gently laid to rest by the editors" and "Sherman was sent to an editorial potter's field."

Secondarily, Clark's success was in his depiction of the fascination and boredom of publishing a country weekly in the handset type and hot lead era. He described the life of the publisher like that of "the father of a rollicking and intimate family." He filled the book with tales of type lice, boiler plate, and editors' journalistic jousting with papers from whom they freely borrowed.

Errors, the plague of editors everywhere, ironically touched this work in the author's and editors' handling of a bullish matrimonial report in the *Hickman Pioneer*, one of about 180 country newspapers cited by Clark. This Centerville, Tennessee paper was erroneously linked to Kentucky and Mississippi in the bibliography and index. Nevertheless, *The Southern Country Editor* offers more than the usual amount of entertainment in a scholarly work of value.

Charlie Marler, Abilene Christian University

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Barbara Cloud, ***The Business of Newspapers on the Western Frontier.*** University of Nevada Press, 1992. 288 pp. Cloth, $27.95.

The frontier newspaper of the American West has enjoyed a dual posture in American history. It has either been ignored because of the feeling that it lacks quality or the physical presence to be significant, or has been represented in anecdote as the tool of the crusading editor battling evil in such places as Tombstone, or as the romantic training ground for Bret Harte, Mark Twain and others. But for all the crusading editors and budding novelists there were hundreds of journeymen printers and editors who provided the small towns and cities with information, advertising and politics and were a key link between the frontier and the more settled lands to the East.

Just as important as their role of providers of information was their position in the commerce of the local communities. They were, first and foremost, small businesses trying to survive in the same tenuous and economic climate as the other businesses in their communities. It is this aspect of the frontier press that Barbara Cloud addresses.

Like other businesses in the frontier communities, newspapers faced numerous financial problems. The uncertain transportation sometimes made getting presses, printing materials and paper very difficult. Shifting local economies forced publishers to be flexible in how they financed their operations and the newspapers were as susceptible to the boom and bust cycles of the towns as were any other businesses.

Cloud looks at a wide spectrum of the economics of the frontier newspapers: the availability and expense of obtaining information for the paper and the materials to produce a publication; the availability of skilled labor to set type and run the presses; the role of advertising; and, the presence of business, political, and social pressures that affected the financial support.

Cloud's overview is a solid, measured look at the frontier press. It would have been easy to slip into the an anecdotal recounting of the period (as much of past frontier press history has been) and produce an unbalanced and

distorted picture. Although she includes some humorous and interesting anecdotes, Cloud manages to focus the work on the common rather than the uncommon and provide an interesting overview of the subject.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the book is that in explaining the economics of press, Cloud provides a close look at the people who established and operated the papers. She presents them as a group made up of pragmatic business people, printers turned publishers in many cases, whose primary concern is producing their product. At the same time there is an underlying sense of commitment. The extreme efforts many went to to keep their papers on schedule is a microcosm. It shows the businesspeople struggling to maintain a schedule because of the threat that any missed issues would present to their continued survival. At the same time it shows efforts on the part of more idealistic publishers who seemed to view non-publication as a major professional failure.

Though the book is a bit thin in terms of statistical substantiation, the combination of numbers and anecdotes makes the book interesting and useful reading. If there is one shortcoming it is that the book does not spend much time discussing the long-term survival of the newspapers. Much of what it discusses is the financial instability of the frontier press. Cloud also doesn't discuss those papers that were able to survive and grow beyond the earlier frontier boom times and into a more stable period. The book would make useful secondary reading for an undergraduate journalism history class or as a reading in a graduate course.

David Cassady, Pacific University

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Elliot D. Cohen, ed., ***Philosophical Issues in Journalism.*** Oxford University Press, 1992. 273 pp. Paper, $14.95.

Joann Bird, ombudsperson for *The Washington Post* and author of a series of practical decision-making models for ethics in journalism, plays to the common bias among journalists when she promises that her approach "does not mistake journalists for moral philosophers – nor for people who want to become moral philosophers." Elliot D. Cohen, with this book of readings, appeals instead to the hidden Socrates in the newsroom, or at least in the journalism classroom.

Cohen contends that the persistent, hard questions of the craft from the nature of news to the relationship between good journalism and moral goodness – are both practical and philosophical questions. They are practical because they bear upon actual newsroom decisions. And they are philosophical precisely because they defy models and codes.

Besides theories of news and ethics, the philosophical issues raised in the book are explored in chapters on free speech, privacy, political power in the media, objectivity, multiperspectivism, logic and journalism education. Many are of general interest to the historian. Each chapter contains at least two readings, usually offering contrasting viewpoints. Judith Andre, for example, argues for a more contextually sensitive concept of censorship juxtaposed to John Stuart Mill's noted discussion of free expression. Theodore L. Glasser is matched with Walter Lippmann over objectivity in reporting.

While the book presents an occasional classic essay, most of the readings are contemporary, although all have been published previously. Many are drawn from *The International Journal of Applied Philosophy*, which Cohen founded and edits. Each article is summarized for the reader in chapter introductions, and at least a dozen discussion questions follow each chapter, indicating the book's basically pedagogic format and emphasis.

A particularly interesting reading on the logical foundations of news reporting is offered by S. Holly Stocking and Paget H. Ross. Originally published in *The Journalism Educator*, the essay draws upon recent cognitive research in psychology, which aligns with certain interests in naturalism in philosophy. The research suggests observers such as reporters process information primarily by means of an everyday logic of inferences. Without adequate understanding of this empirical reasoning, journalists are prone to common, unintentional biases with regard to such craft-related practices as evaluating eyewitnesses, perceiving danger and risk, appraising the significance of single events and drawing correlations.

While the book distinguishes a number of important philosophical issues in journalism, Cohen makes only a limited effort to integrate them. The essays themselves suggest three broad philosophical topics, ethics, political philosophy and epistemology, all of which have been grappled with collectively by such notables in the literature of journalism as Lippmann and Dewey. Cohen partially acknowledges this interrelationship by advising a particular order of reading for some of the chapters. But his discussion of the significance of philosophy to journalism essentially points to a series of issues that can be discussed philosophically, not a set of related philosophical problems.

Nevertheless, the value of the book lies in applying the philosophical attitude to a range of journalistic questions. The literature has been dominated in recent years by ethical theory. Cohen joins a small number of both outsiders and insiders promoting the kind of philosophy and journalism at other vital junctures of inquiry. Ultimately the effort should not only enhance the level of critical thinking in the field, the intention of this book, but inspire and inform better general theories of the press and society.

Douglas Birkhead, University of Utah

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Philip S. Cook, Douglas Gomery, and Lawrence W. Lichty, eds., ***The Future of News: Television, Newspapers, Wire Services, Newsmagazines.*** Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. 288 pp. Cloth, $34.50. Paper, $13.95.

"A disquieting new age is upon us," writes Peter Braestrup in the "Epilogue" to *The Future of News*, a fifteen-chapter collection of *fin de siecle* ennui about the news media's struggle with competition, conflict and change during the past thirty years.

The twenty-five contributors' essays and commentaries offer testimony to the indubitable fact that the world of traditional news media has been turned on its head. A Darwinian struggle-for-existence vocabulary – adaptation, competition, conflict, dinosaurs, extinction and life cycles, among others –runs through many of these essays commissioned for a May 1989 conference of the

Woodrow Wilson Center's Media Studies Project. Adaptation, change and survival are the dominant metaphors, couched in a fretful optimism that bespeaks an underlying pessimism that traditional news media may face extinction. The future of news and traditional news media is up for grabs – and the evidence litters the media landscape.

Facing multiple competition from cable news and home videos, network television has experienced massive audience erosion, its combined prime-time audience share dropping from 92 to 68 percent in ten years. The distinction between network and local news is being blurred, with local news coverage of state, regional, national and even international news providing competitive challenges to the networks' traditional news franchises. "Tabloid" or "trash TV," the "new sleaze" of "A Current Affair" and "Hard Copy," may "drive out all serious and significant reporting." The "talk show culture" of "asserting opinions, thinking in sound-bites and having an attention-getting public persona" is changing print journalism that traditionally has stood for the bastion of virtuous and self-righteous rectitude. Typical TV viewers regularly fail to understand the main points in two-thirds of all major TV shows, and people who say they get most of their news from TV are among the least informed members of the public.

Newspapers' penetration of American homes is down, with daily circulation [1970-1988] failing to keep pace with the nation's growth in households. The number of competing newspapers continues to wane, the surviving papers showing "less bite" and "idiosyncrasy," less of a difference to capture readers' attention. Other media are pulling readers away from newspapers, prompting more emphasis on graphics and features at the expense of "hard news." Content is shaped by marketing teams that fragment and segment audiences – even deliberatlely excluding unwanted [low-income] readers. The "unbundling" of the newspaper into "micromarketed" content packages betrays the claim that newspapers are a mass medium and lifeline of democracy.

The wire services--AP, UPI and the supplemental services – are so entwined with daily newspapers that their future, at least in their present form, will rise or fall with the precarious fortunes of their newspaper members. AP and UPI cannot expect to survive for long on traditions and monopolies established decades ago by U.S. dailies. The wire services [AP] can either "ride the slide down with its newspaper members" or move away from the newspaper industry by retooling to attract cable system cable system audiences or through home computers. The supplemental news services have invaded the traditional AP/UPI market as a result of "failed vision" that couldn't foresee – or foresee fast enough – demands for interpretive/enterprise reporting that emerged in the past thirty years.

Newsweeklies' penetration has slipped badly, beginning in the 1970s when circulation stagnation set in on the Big Three [*Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News and World Report*]. The Big Three countered with graphic redesigns in the mid-1980s, increasing the emphasis in features with a "service angle" to readers that often includes directly addressing them. The introduction of a new subjectivity and a decline in "balance" in news magazine content represents an emerging redefinition of news to appeal to specific advertiser-desired demographic groups that have transformed news magazines into an elitist medium geared to well-educated, high-income audiences. In their essay on the Big Three, Byron T. Scott and Walton Sieber offer a conclusion that has implications broader than newsweeklies: "[N] ewsmagazines will survive, but that is not the same thing as

saying that *Time, Newsweek and U.S. News* will survive. . . Much evidence suggests that both the newsmagazines and their definitions of news are changing in response to market pressures."

Admittedly, many arguments and assertions in this lively collection are contested -- some outright denied. The overriding consensus seems to be that traditional news media operate with eternal life, adapting to their radically changing environment to assure their continued survival. Yet, a less beguiling fantasy presents itself as a brooding undercurrent in these essays, a sense of the news media's mortality that the authors are fearful to confront. *New York* magazine publisher Clay Felker's comment about magazines more than twenty years ago may be prophetically applicable to other news media:

> There appears to be an almost inexorable life cycle of American magazines that follows the pattern of humans: a clamorous youth eager to be noticed; vigorous, productive, middle age marked by an easy-to-define editorial line; and a long slow decline, in which efforts at revival are sporadic and tragically doomed.

Whether traditional news media will adapt and survive or are "tragically doomed" as they enter the twenty-first century remains an open question that deserves critical analysis and debate. This volume contributes to that encounter and would be a provocative supplementary text for media history and society courses where the debate could focus the attention of a generation that will participate in this "disquieting new age."

Arthur J. Kaul, University of Southern Mississippi

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Sigmund Diamond, ***Compromised Campus: The Collaboration of Universities with the Intelligence Community, 1945-1945.*** Oxford University Press,1992. 371 pp. Cloth, $27.95.

Among the estimated 600 professors and teachers nationwide who lost their jobs for political reasons during the McCarthy era hunt for Communists in education was Sigmund Diamond, dismissed from Harvard by McGeorge Bundy them dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Diamond, now professor emeritus of Columbia University, has used his personal story not as the central theme of his book but as catalyst. Gleaning once-secret information recently released under the Freedom of Information Act, Diamond worked the data from his own FBI files as a springboard to document the link of American intelligence agencies to some of the nation's most prestigious universities.

Thwarted by deletions in and often complete denial of material he requested through FOIA, Diamond was forced to abandon his original goal of writing a history of the FBI's relationship to institutions of higher learning. Instead, he put together his book from those documents that were released to him and other research, primarily archival. The result is what Diamond calls a "biography" of his research project: how he began it, where it led, what was found. The book has no overall theme or conclusions.

This unique approach does not mean that the work is not well documented. Diamond has probed deeply and uncovered some interesting connections: information on how Henry Kissinger, while a professor at Harvard, approached the FBI with alleged evidence of communist subversion among the foreign students of his summer seminar; details about one editor of the Yale

Daily News, William F. Buckley, Jr., and his contacts with J. Edgar Hoover; the operation of Harvard's Russian Research Center and the career of H.B. Fisher, Yale "liaison agent" with the FBI. The conduct of university presidents Conant of Harvard, Griswold of Yale, Dodds of Princeton, Wriston of Brown, Sproul of California and others is tracked through their formal and informal activity regarding loyalty-security matters.

Diamond views campus McCarthyism as an elite phenomenon-institutional, reciprocal in its dealings with federal agencies, somewhat bureaucratic in nature and long lived on university campuses. He describes this relationship as triangular trade in information among political leaders, educational authorities and the FBI. For a book claiming to be without conclusions, it certainly makes a statement.

Earlier publications such as *Stalking the Academic Communist* (Holmes, 1989) and *This Nest of Vipers* (McCormick, 1989) detail case studies, individual casualties of the post-World War II red scare among educators. *Compromised Campus* cuts a wider path. Unfortunately, its breadth of scope is limited by large gaps in the research findings which leave the story fragmented, out of context and extremely difficult to follow. Even more importantly, these gaps present a major problem in linking the isolated incidents cited to any substantiation of what actually developed, a problem Diamond is unable to overcome in his narrative.

Diamond does demonstrate with official documentation campus collusion during this repressive period in our nation's history. His book should be of interest to the academic community and all those concerned with freedom of expression issues.

Sharon Hartin Iorio, Wichita State University

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Carolyn Stewart Dyer and James Hamilton, comp., ***The Iowa Guide: Scholarly Journals in Mass Communication and Related Fields***, 5th ed. Iowa City: Iowa Center for Communication Study, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Iowa, 1993. 164 pp. Paper, $12.

From the *American Historical Review* (7 percent acceptance rate) to *Written Communication* (19 percent acceptance), there may be a place where your research will become ink on paper, between covers. Up front, the compilers tell us that this is a volume "designed to help researchers find appropriate journals in which to publish their work and prepare manuscripts for publication."

The guide succeeds admirably. There's a tightly written introduction, a good cross index and a succinct listing of the publishing habits of 128 scholarly journals. It's up to date; Professor Dyer tracked me down by telephone near deadline to insure they had the latest on *American Journalism*. One might observe that the book leaves out many possible publishing venues, and the criticism would be valid. There isn't a state historical society journal listed, for instance; this category of journals is appropriate for local and regional journalism history interests. But, the guiding criterion of "principle forums for

scholarship in the field" for inclusion is adhered to well, and a defensible and appropriate limiting device.

The *Iowa Guide* is a must for journalism and communication department libraries, and a useful gift for the new Ph. D. embarking on a voyage aboard the good ship Academe. Full professors might keep it handy, too, in case their manuscripts get rejected now and then.

Wallace B. Eberhard, University of Georgia

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Michel J. Fabre, ***From Harlem to Paris: Black American Writers in France, 1840-1980.*** University of Illinois Press, 1991. 358 pp. Cloth, $35.95.

Michel J. Fabre, in the best tradition of journalists and historians, explores a world of black writers using Paris in diverse and complex ways that reverberate through American race relations. His exhaustive detail covering 1840 to 1980 broadens our views of expatriates and France and Paris too.

Writers black and white came to Paris for inspiration, but after World War I blacks saw France as a place of relative freedom from prejudice they felt so acutely at home. Richard Wright said that "as an American Negro, I felt, amidst such a milieu, safe from my neighbor for the first time in my life." James Weldon Johnson, aware of "a miracle," was "suddenly free" from insecurity, danger, scorn, special tolerance and commiseration, and condescension.

Quoting from fiction, non-fiction, letters, journals, diaries, and interviews, Fabre chronologically follows these writers through visits and extended stays in Paris. Even though treated well, they ultimately had to face up to France's own racial prejudice. Still, France was freer than the United States and showed them respect, so it seems hardly to have mattered to some that French reality was less than the ideal.

But growing battles in the United States in the 1950s forced blacks to examine their lives. Jazz pianist Art Simmons said young blacks were no longer impressed that he lived in Paris, but asked what he was doing for the cause. Having long espoused racial equality, would expatriates now stay in their comfortable environment, or go the the fight? Fabre does not fully explore this complex emotional dilemma.

A strength of the book is simply that it addresses black experience in Paris, describing intellectual connections among black writers and between them and French intellectuals. Fabre has partial success finding Paris's influence on black writers through references to Paris or France in their work. Yet some important influences would be difficult to identify. The freedom to come and go as they pleased without the tyranny of color left indelible impressions. France's racial prejudice did not often intrude directly into their lives, and being seen as a person, or a writer, or even an American was freeing, exhilarating.

This liberation had a profound impact on writers and thinkers who helped shape directions in American intellectual and other activity, including the Negritude and Back to Africa movements. They looked at the United States from a country of real or imagined freedoms, and "brother," as Ralph Ellison said, "the view is frightful."

Another strength of Fabre's book is that he deals with whole men and women, valuing their intellectual as well as anecdotal experiences. In a more

common treatment of Americans in Paris Stephen Longstreet included a chapter, "Richard Wright -- Black Exile," that deals with interesting, but mostly trivial aspects of Wright's life, including complaints about car mechanics and lack of hot water. Overall, he is portrayed as if not foolish, at least ineffectual and perhaps even sad, a man who produced nothing of significance after he came to Paris.

Fabre's Wright, "An Intellectual in Exile," is different. He has interest in Africa, exchanges with French intellectuals, and influence on many people. Wright was a fine writer, but his presence in Paris, as a writer, intellectual, American, and role model might be as significant as his writing.

The book mentions hundreds of people and is not a satisfying story, even about Wright, as it hops from one to another. Many people are briefly or not at all identified, and it is difficult to keep even necessary manes in mind, particularly for those unfamiliar with black writers.

Yet the hundreds of names and mentions of books and articles might interest journalism historians most. People mentioned significantly were "journalists" in that they contributed to newspapers, magazines, and journals about black life in Europe, Africa, and the United States. Fabre also shows journalistic treatment of blacks as major news sources in Paris. Their negative comments about U.S. race relations got big play, but less was heard of their comments about France's treatment of its own colonials.

What the book does ultimately, besides fill a void, is leave us with interesting questions. What would have happened to these men and women had they stayed in the United States? One might say that France gave America a lot of its African American literature and influenced thought about race relations in the United States. It makes one wonder how many voices are altered or even stifled among those who can't, or don't, escape to a freer environment.

Robert Dardenne, University of South Florida

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John J. Fialka, ***Hotel Warriors: Covering the Gulf War.*** Foreword by Peter Braestrup. Washington D.C.; Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992, 78 pp. $9.75, paperback.

If journalism is "a first cut at history, " during the Gulf War, its practitioners failed to get much of a slice. John J. Fialka, of the *Wall Street Journal*, should know: He was there. His brief but provocative and stimulating account discusses what went wrong, as well as what worked out, in getting both TV and print news to the world.

He describes how the pool system for assigning journalists was set up and assesses its strengths and weaknesses. he examines how the war was often reported from the luxury hotels of Dhahran and Riyadh in Saudia Arabia, hence the book's title. He also devotes a chapter to the work of the so-called unilaterals, i.e., those intrepid news people who worked as independents, often at great risk, to get the story of the conflict in the midst of the action.

Pulling no punches, Fialka records the failure of the media to present a very complete or accurate record of events. Despite months of preparation during the build up in the Gulf, when hostilities began, there were breakdowns everywhere. The author's judicious accusing finger points at both the military

and the media. Journalists were often the last to cooperate in any scheme that might involve their helping one another; "me first" was the order of the day. Furthermore, many of the news personnel knew almost nothing about military operations, weapons systems, tactics or strategy.

On the other hand, correspondents were often subjected to the unbending opposition of certain U.S. Army officers who still harbored resentment over what they regarded as their betrayal by the press during Vietnam, though there is little evidence that journalists were mainly responsible for the often violent opposition of the American public to that war. Indeed, one wonders how many wars Americans must fight before those involved learn how to manage the media in times of crisis. There seems to be a constant rehashing of basics – even the right of citizens to be informed during wartime. Certainly, things change, but there are also many requirements and modes that should by now be routinely anticipated and provided for, leaving what Clausewitz calls the inevitable "fog of war" to be managed on an ad hoc basis.

There were other failures. There were too many media people involved, overloading the system for getting the news out. In addition, there was a general inability to develop a viable network for exploiting the film and copy that was created. In fact, military censorship, in the literal sense, was not the problem. Access and proper utilization of video and stories that were written was the great limitation in reporting the Gulf War.

When compared with the Army, the U.S. Marine Corps handled its correspondents much more intelligently. The results were described by the Marine field commander, General Walter E. Boomer: "As far as we were concerned, what we did seemed to be fairly natural and the right thing to do. It's undergirded to a degree by the belief that the American people have a right to know, and we the Marines are trying to do the best we can to let people take a look at us." As a consequence, though the Marines were only in a support role, their involvement was reported in detail, while even some major Army engagements were not covered at all. As Fialka admitted, "we saw the Marines and wrote too much about them because they had a flair for public relations that made some of us wonder whether they came from the same country that produced the Army."

The British were also reasonably successful in managing the press during the conflict. After the Falklands War, their military and media worked out a plan entitled "Proposed Working Arrangements in Time of Tension and War." According to this, the media would limit the number of journalists to a manageable number. In exchange, the military would allow satellite phones and broadcasting equipment in the field and in other ways cooperate with correspondents. The new system proved its effectiveness in the Gulf.

As to the future, all concerned would be well advised to heed the conclusions of a Twentieth Century Fund task force assessing the Grenada affair: "Our free press, when it accompanies the nation's soldiers into battle, performs a unique role. It serves as eyewitness; it forges a bond between the citizen and the soldier and , at its best, it strives to avoid manipulation either by officials or by critics of the government through accurate independent reporting. It also provides one of the checks and balances that sustains the confidence of the American people in their political system and armed forces."

Invariably, tensions between journalists and the military will continue, even in the best of circumstances. Their philosophies are basically oppositional. Yet, there is no reason why, in a democratic society, an efficient working

relationship cannot be maintained between them. Fialka's book is a good place to begin for an intelligent assessment of the relevant problems.

Alfred E. Cornebise, Greely, Colorado

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Donald M. Gillmor, ***Power, Publicity, and the Abuse of Libel Law.*** Oxford University Press, 1992. 256 pp. Cloth, $25.00.

Libel, which probably has existed in some form as long as law has been made, has had plenty of time to become a huge cauldron of legal tests few can actually fathom. People have always been prepared to punish others for what they say and to develop ever more detailed legal tests that purport to balance the right of reputation with the right of expression. Today, writes Professor Donald Gillmor of the University of Minnesota, libel law has become as complex or more complex than the tax code.

Seditious libel – the crime of criticizing government – apparently has fallen on hard times in the United States as the result of relatively recent court rulings, but libel suits brought by public persons are still a fact of life for the mass media, even if, as Gillmor points out, the chances of such people ultimately prevailing are astonishingly slim.

In fact, Gillmor's analysis of the evolution and current realities of defamation law suggests that seditious libel is being revived in the suits brought by public officials and celebrities and that such suits have became weapons in litigational warfare which violate the spirit of the First Amendment.

The evidence for this far-reaching study begins with eighteenth-century law and continues through an analysis of 614 reported cases from 1982 through 1988. Examples range from the well-known – such as the Wayne Newton and *Alton Telegraph* cases – to the more obscure – such as the Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation (SLAPP) actions brought against ordinary citizens who speak out on public issues.

The most valuable contribution of the book, however, may be its trenchant criticisms of the case law, First Amendment theorists and existing libel reform proposals. The reader is left to wonder, along with Gillmor and other researchers, why there are barriers to winning suits, but not to beginning the long and costly process in the first place. As Professor Rodney Smolla has observed, "If punishment is the motive, plaintiffs do not have to win to win, and whatever the parties' motives, defendants do not have to lose to lose."

Gillmor's solution is to cut part of the Gordian knot of libel law and not allow public officials at policy-making levels and celebrities who are "pervasive public figures" of "public personalities" to have a remedy in libel law. Instead, the news media would be expected to provide time or space voluntarily for a reply by the person feeling wronged.

The author is not naive about the prospects of his proposal with either today's news organizations or the U.S. Supreme Court. The idea makes enough sense to apply even to private individuals, but centuries of mass media tradition and of legal interpretation are not easy to discard.

Gillmor's book thus may be no more than a brave, lonely attempt to bring reason to an irrational area of law. Nevertheless, in an era of wonders, from

the fall of the Berlin Wall to the latest incarnation of Madonna, perhaps we can dare to hope otherwise.

Jeffery A. Smith, University of Iowa

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Leonard H. Goldenson with Marvin J. Wolf, ***Beating the Odds: The Untold Story Behind the Rise of ABC.*** New York: Charles Scibner's Sons.,1991. 495 pp. Cloth, 24.95.

Marvin Wolf is known for his premier professional accomplishment in raising the American Broadcasting Company from also-ran status to network leader, but also because of his charitable work on behalf of United Cerebral Palsy which he helped to found, and his reputation as a good person to know and work for. This book reflects those qualities, and is not in the mold of some of the recent self-aggrandizing, self-absorbed tomes written by broadcast insiders about their experience, although as one of the last remaining founding fathers in the field, he would probably be forgiven for doing so, and is certainly eminently qualified. Instead, the author lets a wide cast of characters tell the story, the background of ABC's development in their own words, with Goldenson inserting various bits and pieces of the puzzle along with some personal philosophy on how to conduct oneself and survive in the ever changing field of broadcasting.

Goldenson provides the commentary and has a colleague, Marvin J. Wolf, conduct the interviews and patch it all together. Wolf, who received his B.A. in Communications from Cal State-Fullerton, after serving 13 years a a U.S. Army communications officer, did a very thorough job of conducting more than three dozen interviews, providing perspective on a very lengthy and auspicious career. The approach is unique because it focuses on many previously unexplored aspects of the network. For example, one chapter is devoted exclusively to affiliate stations. Although a personal examination of ABC was published a little over a decade earlier by former network Chicago General Manager Sterling Quinlan, this new offering devotes a chapter to events from a variety of outposts including Atlanta, Charlotte, Minneapolis, San Diego, and Seattle, representing an element of network development at the local level that previously went untold. And it is the voices we hear from diverse sources which enhance our appreciation of what the ABC Network accomplished.

Goldenson's relatives, including his wife and sisters, were interviewed for the book and focus on his youth--growing up outside Pittsburgh. Friends from his Harvard Law days discuss his interest in sports as well as academics. Business operatives such as Stanley Hubbard, network executives including Fred Silverman and Fred Pierce, producers and directors like David Wolper, and of course, many representatives from the so-called "talent" end of the business, such as Bob Hope, Howard Cosell and a number of Hollywood writers, are all given a chance to provide insight into Goldenson, his background and unyielding dedication to the American Broadcasting Company.

Apparently, the ABC counterpart to William S. Paley and David Sarnoff constantly sought new ideas from a variety of unorthodox sources. Goldenson's dentist explains how he provided counsel on the location and purchase of a film library. Humorist Art Buchwald tells of his early encounter with as an office worker on the staff at United Paramount Theatres, prior to service in World War II. These recollections are each set off on a topical basis

and interspersed with Goldenson's own observations. Each source is allowed to tell their part of the story within the context of a special area, issue, program , or series and the results are quite candid and uniformly interesting.

The stories are not all new, by any means, but the oral history of aspect of this project enlivens the text considerably, giving it more of the feel of a living document. Barbara Walters explains from her perspective the reason why Harry Reasoner could not accept her co-anchor status. Walters also traces her early attempts to gain credibility, including her interview with Fidel Castro, while the press focused on her million-dollar salary. Roone Arledge tells a similar tale of his struggles to establish credentials and take over the news division from his base in ABC Sports.

Goldenson reserves many of the tougher topics for himself. They include divestment of theaters by motion picture companies and the end of long-term personal contracts for talent. These changes dramatically altered Hollywood operations and hurt short-term prospects for the film industry. He faced enormous professional challenges at a time when he was first having to come to grips with his daughter's cerebral palsy, and this took a tremendous personal toll.

He describes the prolonged government deliberations leading to approval of the network merger and the struggle to compete on unequal footing with the established networks due, not just to limited programming sources, but to the smaller number of ABC affiliate stations. All early programming decisions are detailed including those involved in the successful start-up of television westerns such as the first "Maverick Cheyenne," and what could be termed its antidote. The story of the development of "Maverick" begins with writer Roy Huggin's explanation of the weird fascination audiences exhibited when first introduced to a tall, dark, but very quirky western figure who, when approached by a damsel in distress, would likely break with Hollywood tradition by referring her to the local Sheriff's office, rather than attempting to deal with threatening desperados on his own. This tongue-in-cheek approach both fit an emerging, somewhat off-beat, network image and created a major star, James Garner.

We learn of Goldenson's personal interaction with a variety of other unorthodox television success stories on ABC such as Bishop Fulton Sheen and Lawrence Welk, both of whom set out specific guidelines for their programs. He discusses his early support of Lyndon Johnson and later on, Goldenson relays an incident when the then President Johnson invited Goldenson to skinny dip with him in the White House swimming pool.

He also provides background on some of the major executives who helped him compete in both radio and television, devoting and entire chapter to Ollie Treyz, whose innovations in broadcast sales such as "scatter-buying," the strategy of selling generic commercial time rather than specific program hours or half-hours, and "bridging" television programs by starting them earlier than the competition and hoping audiences would stay tuned.

Often, the admissions are downright embarrassing from a corporate perspective. For instance, except for a few well-known exceptions, popular programming was always in short supply at ABC.

This is no great scholarly contribution to the broadcast literature but in fairness, it was not designed to be. For those who wish to study what was, at least until recently, a mostly undervalued network or focus specifically on an area such as sports programming or some aspect of the business of broadcasting, it would be worth a read. *Beating the Odds* is a tribute to Leonard Goldenson and his tenacity in advancing ABC. The approach of this work will be appreciated by

those who want first-hand accounts from major players, in an interesting format. For that reason alone, the book is worthwhile.

Michael D. Murray, University of Missouri-St. Louis

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Margaret T. Gordon *et al*, ***The Journalism of Outrage: Investigative Reporting and Agenda Building in America.*** New York and London: The Guilford Press, 1991.

This is a fine addition to the growing body of research on news reporting. Of its seven authors, six are on the faculty of Northwestern University, and the remaining author, Margaret T. Gordon, is dean and professor in the Graduate School of Public Affairs, University of Washington. Its Northwestern authors are David L. Protess, Fay Lomax Cook, Jack C. Doppelt, James S. Ettema, Donna R. Leff, and Peter Miller. Potential readers should not be misled by the multiple author credits; this is not a collection of separate studies or essays but rather a sophisticated, carefully produced study of the impact if investigation reporting.

The authors examine the proposition, often taken for granted, that investigative reporting affects public policy-making and public administration through its capacity to arouse and mobilize public opinion against villains and on behalf of their victims. But their research, reported in six case studies that comprise the majority of the monograph, shows that this Mobilization Model is not very good at explaining the effects of investigative reporting. The cases allow careful examination of the validity of the Mobilization Model. Each case study probes the genesis of the story, the investigation process, the search for evidence, the identity of villains and victims, the preparation of the news reports, the negotiations regarding publication, and the influence of the report on opinion development.

Chapters One introduces the research issues and suggests that watchdog journalism can affect society in "exquisitely complex and paradoxical ways" and that the roots of investigative reporting must be understood in order to appreciate the interplay among muckrakers, citizens, and policy makers. Chapter Two, then, examines the historical dimensions of investigative reporting going back to its pre-Revolutionary roots in Colonial America. The authors identify periods of investigative energy and quiescence and relate these periods to their economic, social, and political contexts. They suggest that muckrakers and policy makers may have been less adversarial than traditional accounts have related and report reasons to doubt that the public was as active in demanding reform as the Mobilization Model suggests.

Chapters Three through Eight report on the six case studies, one each of a newspaper or television investigative story. For each case study, researchers worked with the reporters during the preparation of their stories conducted public opinion studies before and after publication of the story, and examined the impact of the stories by monitoring hearings, administrative measures, and legislative proposals and by interviews with official and elites. The authors summarize as follows: "Once published, some investigative stories have profound policy consequences without regard for public opinion. Other stories arouse the public without changing policy-making agendas. Still others mobilize interest groups, which they exert pressure on policy makers. But in none of the

cases we examined did agenda building proceed in the straightforward manner predicted by the Mobilization Model."

Two concluding chapters summarize and interpret the finding in the context of journalistic relationships to public policy making. The final chapter interprets the post-publication consequences of the news stories and, looking ahead, suggests a continued diminished role for the citizenry, recognizing that journalists and policy makers will continue to form coalitions that significantly affect investigative reporting and that journalists are likely to play a larger direct role in "selling" public policy agendas. Journalists and public policy makers, in symbiotic relationship, will influence one another's agendas profoundly.

Journalism historians, following publication of this study, will be uneasy with continued acceptance of linear Mobilization Model explanations about muckraking and investigative journalism.

The book is written in a lucid and engaging style. Even the methods appendix which provides details on the case studies is clear and direct. A second appendix gives results of a national survey of 927 investigative reporters and editors.

Jean Ward, University of Minnesota

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Ben Hecht, ***1001 Afternoons in Chicago.*** The University of Chicago Press, 1992. Paper, $15.95. 290 pp.

Born in New York City in 1894, Ben Hecht attended schools in New York City and in Racine Wisconsin. He attended the University of Wisconsin until the desire to experience what the world had to offer urged him to Chicago where he ultimately made his mark as a journalist.

He worked as a reporter first for the *Chicago Journal*, then for the *Chicago Daily News*. Hecht read the works of Gautier, Baudelaire, Mallarme, and Verlaine, and developed an imaginative style that was distinctive in its use of metaphor, imagery, and vivid phrases.

In 1921 he contributed a daily column on Chicago's seamier side of life, covering the likes of murder, and prostitution as will as the bizarre. Some of these columns were collected and published in 1922 under the title, *1001 Afternoons in Chicago*. The 1992 edition now makes Hecht's work more widely available to scholars of literary journalism. Although Hecht eventually wrote novels, plays, and screenplays, perhaps his best work was in his columns. Readers were delighted with his interpretation of life in Chicago. His sketches took many literary forms--from comedies, one
act tragedies, and sepia panels to homilies and satires. As Henry Justin Smith wrote in the book's original "Preface":

> There were dramatic studies often intensely subjective, let with the moods of Ben himself, not of the things dramatized. There were self-revelations characteristically frank and provokingly debonaire. There was comment upon everything under the sun; assaults upon all the idols of antiquity, of mediaevalism, of neo-boobism.

Hecht, who died in 1964 in New York City, contributed a column a day for more than a year, plenty of columns from which to choose. The 65 selected for the book exemplify the variety of literary forms Hecht used to discuss a variety of subjects.

The reader of this learns more about Chicago than he or she ever cared to learn. Yet, because of the interesting array of subjects discussed and Hecht's writing talent, the reader won't mind. Unfortunately, however some of these stories may not be true. In the book, ***A Child of the Century***, published in 1954, Hecht confessed that some of his stories and columns had been fabricated. As he wrote,

> Tales of lawsuits no court had ever seen, involving names nocity directory had ever known, poured from my typewriter. Tales of prodigals returned, hobos came into fortunes, families driven mad by ghosts, vendettas that ended in love feasts, and all of them full of exotic plot turns involving parrots, chickens, goldfish, serpents, epigrams and second-act curtains. I made them all up. I haunted police courts, the jails, the river docks, the slums. I listened to the gabble of sailors, burglars, pimps, whores, hop-heads,anarchists, lunatics and policeman. Out of their chatter I wove anecdotes worthy of such colorful characters. And to give reality to the people of my "scoops" I raided the family album in my Taute Chasha's flat.

Edd Applegate, Middle Tennessee State University

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Shanto Iyengar, ***Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues.*** Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1991. 160 pp. Cloth, $19.95

With the passage of time opening the 1980s to historical interpretation, research questions abound for those whose specialty is the mass media. It will be up to media historians to determine whether the landmark event that decade, the outbreak of democracy in dozens of oppressed nations, resulted, as many speculated, from the first truly global television communications. Particularly because newer communications may have roused citizens in developing democracies, some of the decade's best questions may surround an opposite effect in existing democracies. In the same decade that citizens elsewhere felled barbed wire, citizens in the United States witnessed the "great communication" of Ronald Reagan and, in the view of some, lapsed into malaise.

That more should have happened in the United States during the 1980s is the concern of UCLA political scientist Shanto Iyengar, who blames the malaise not so much on Reagan but on three of the television networks that covered him. Iyengar maintains that educational failure, environmental degradation, and class conflict persisted in the 1980s because they were not reported sufficiently by ABC, CBS, and NBC, which reacted instead to a daily drumbeat of terrorism, crime, and other events of short-term impact. From a unique comparison of framing patterns on TV news, Iyengar maintains that while substantive "thematic" framing was needed to stir public attention, the

networks stressed simplistic "episodic" framings. The networks in turn may have been "the opiate of American society."

The book is a theoretical study, its value to non-theorists a content treatment of network news between 1981 and 1986. This content study blossoms into a persuasive case that indeed network coverage was of little social value in the 1980s; follow-up experiments confirm a narcotizing effect.

Conclusions, however, only arrive after a very complicated quantitative analysis. Readers unwilling to wade through this analysis are certain to struggle with much of what Iyengar has to say. Moreover, while Iyengar's conclusions are inspired, the conceptual framework has limitations, certainly for historians and possibly for the theorists for whom it was intended. Iyengar explains 1980s mass psychology almost exclusively by what appeared at 5:30 p.m. on ABC, CBS, and NBC. That citizens also read newspapers and magazines and by the tens of millions subscribed to cable TV are not considered. Iyengar's exclusion of cable is troubling because this medium so eroded the network newscasts that by the end of the 1980s only 30 percent of the public was tuning to them. That 70 percent of the public was not questions their sweeping effects.

Iyengar does succeed, though, is enhancing the argument that something was amiss in American journalism during the Reagan era. Historians drawn to this argument will find *Is Anyone Responsible?* a useful supplement to the works of Paletz and Entman, Nimmo and Combs, and Robinson and Levy. It is ironic-that in writing of the decade that communism began to collapse, Iyengar would use Marxist terminology to refer to television as an "opiate." It is more ironic that in the country that proclaimed victory over communism this opiate may have been imbibed to some extent. These ironies should make 1980s historiography impelling and possibly win Iyengar's theoretical study an endnote or two as this historiography unfolds.

Craig Allen, Arizona State University

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Diane Kirkby, ***Alice Henry: The Power of Pen and Voice.*** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. 250 pp. Cloth, $49.95.

Resources for expanding the ways we can talk about women within communication history are welcome additions to the literature. *Alice Henry:: The Power of Pen and Voice* by Diane Kirkby is one such resource. Within a biographical framework, Kirkby documents the career of Alice Henry who she readily admits has not become "a household name" by focusing both on Henry as an individual and as a member of a larger professional community. It is this dual level consideration of Henry as particular and as representative which marks this work's versatility as a resource.

For instance, Kirkby begins with an overview of Henry's middle-class upbringing near Melbourne, Australia, in the mid-1850s. Educated alongside her brother, she rejected the Victorian norm of feminine domesticity and entered journalism as a member of a distinct minority in 1884. To explain the professional challenges which faced Henry, Kirkby includes a discussion of women's status within Australian journalism and concludes given that status not suprisingly Henry's earliest articles dealt with domestic issue. However, gradually Henry was able to incorporate her political commitment as a

progressive reformer into her career. While Kirkby does not explain how Henry was able to make this transition, it is significant for with the transition came Henry's entrance into the sphere of women progressive reformers, the sphere in which she would live out her life. Thus, the reader can gain insight not only into the particular experience of an individual but also into the challenges which faced women wishing to enter late nineteenth century Australian journalism and women who chose to live their lives as progressive reformers. And, this portrait of Australian journalism and social reform provides an interesting counterpoint for parallel American issues.

In 1906, American social reformers Henry referred to as the "sistership of womanhood" invited her to lecture in America. Intended initially as a visit, Henry's American tour became a change of residence when she began working for the Women's Trade Union League. The bulk of Kirkby's work documents Henry's career with the WTUL, her place within the suffrage movement, and more generally, women's contributions to American social reform movements. While Kirkby does not specifically conceive of Henry's career within a public relations context, those interested in women's roles within public relations history will find this work useful. During her twenty year involvement with the WTUL, Henry participated in the organization's policy making process, lectured, wrote newspaper and magazine articles, organized conferences, and edited a journal. Kirkby contextualizes these contributions within an institutional and social history of the WTUL. The last chapter focuses on Henry's retirement. Particularly poignant in this regard is Kirkby's discussion of Henry's financial circumstances which in spite of planning necessitated that she continue to freelance in the face of failing health. Henry's financial problems accelerated during the Depression to the point that she felt compelled to return to Australia where she could rely more directly on her brother's support. Kirkby notes that Henry's death of natural causes in 1943 "passed almost without notice in Australia."

In the introduction to this work, Kirkby quite specifically explains her research agenda. She characterizes the work as feminist history, a biography bounded by the contours of life's experience rather than great political events and written from a woman's perspective of what was important. Further, Kirkby indicates that her intent is to allow Henry's story to speak for itself without critical evaluation of success or failure by someone else's standards. Kirkby also notes that since Henry left very few personal documents, the biography had to draw heavily from Henry's published works, the memoirs Henry put together during her retirement and other sources. These "other sources" are an impressive array of primary and secondary materials drawn from both Australian and American collections. Indeed, the depth and range of documentation is one of this work's strengths. The work which emerges from this perspective is a sympathetic, readable portrait of Alice Henry's career. It is more a professional than a personal portrait. It is also more than a portrait of an individual professional life. *Alice Henry: The Power of Pen and Voice* suggests that by looking at communication history from the perspective of the professional middle class, we can add a valuable viewpoint to the historic record and then by example shows us the power of that suggestion.

Nickieann Fleener, University of Utah

Paul Lancaster, ***Gentlemen of the Press: The Life and Times of an Early Reporter, Julian Ralph of the Sun.*** Syracuse University Press, 1992. 307 pp. Cloth, $?

The book jacket of Paul Lancaster's *Gentleman of the Press* begins with a quotation from Donald Ritchie, author of *Press Gallery*, stating that Paul Lancaster's work is "an important contribution to journalism history," and Ritchie is right. Paul Lancaster, a former front page editor and reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*, has written a splendid biography of a late nineteenth century reporter. It is a vivid account of Ralph's life and the development of reporting as a profession. Lancaster analyzes the growing role of reporters in American newspapers as they changed from emphasizing editorials and partisan politics to news and "sensationalism." The biography of Ralph includes an informative and perceptive analysis of New York City newspapers in the nineteenth century. Of particular interest is Lancaster's account of the emergence of the New York *Sun* under the editorship of Charles Anderson Dana, as a "newspaperman's newspaper." By interweaving the biography of Ralph with the development of the *Sun*, Mr. Lancaster created an intriguing story of U.S. journalism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

In writing *Gentleman of the Press*, Mr. Lancaster found himself at a disadvantage. During the late nineteenth century, most newspapers still used anonymous reporters. Bylines were rare. While Lancaster could easily identify Ralph's later magazine and newspaper articles determining the stories written by Ralph in the 1870s and 1880s turned into an adventure in search of clues for Ralph's work, since none of the stories carried in the *Sun* gave Ralph a byline.

Ralph's life provides us with an understanding of the difficulties and frustrations of reporters in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. After brief stints on the Red Bank *New Jersey Standard* and New York *World*, Ralph joined the staff of the *Daily Graphic* in mid 1874. His coverage of the scandalous trial of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher in 1875 caught the eye of Charles Dana of the *Sun*. Initially, Ralph worked as a police reporter. Later he served as a legislative reporter in Albany and special correspondent in Washington.

Among the major stories he covered were the execution of six Molly Maguires in 1877 and the Great Railroad Strike of 1877. Also, Ralph covered several presidential inaugurations, the 1888 presidential conventions, 1892 Republican Convention, 1893 World's Columbian Exposition and the Lizzie Borden trial in 1893.

Gradually Ralph grew discontented with his career at the *Sun* and he began freelancing for magazines. By 1895 William Randolph Hearst lured Ralph to New York *Journal* as foreign corespondent. In Europe, Ralph wrote stories on the Venezuela-British Guiana boundary dispute in 1896, Greco Turkish War of 1897 and Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. In 1898 he freelanced for the New York *Herald* in Europe before joining the London *Daily Mail* to cover the Boer War. Illness force him to return to America and he died of stomach cancer in New York City on January 20, 1903 at the age of forty-nine. During his career he developed a reputation as one of the ablest reporters of his time. Mr. Lancaster tells the story of Ralph's life by combining it with accounts of other reporters of the period and the history of journalism in the late nineteenth century making it more than a lively story of a reporter's work and problems.

While I applaud Mr. Lancaster's efforts as a historian of journalism and as a biographer, I do have some reservations about this study's contribution to

social and political history. Too often Mr. Lancaster introduces historical issues but does not analyze them. The Molly Maguires are briefly mentioned because of Ralph's coverage of the execution of six of their members. According to Mr. Lancaster, "public feeling against the Mollies were virulent" (88) but why? In 1877 Ralph went to Pittsburgh to cover the Great Railroad Strike, but Mr. Lancaster provides little background and no analysis. For example, why were Philadelphia militiamen brought in? Why were there bloody confrontations? What was the importance of the Great Railroad Strike in American history? From the footnotes and bibliography, it appears that Mr. Lancaster did not look at any of the works on the strike. Foster Rhea Dulles in *Labor in America* (115-116) for example, reports more about the headlines and editorials in the New York City press on the railroad strike than Mr. Lancaster provides in his account. Unfortunately the chapter, "Marching through History," that details Ralph's coverage of these events becomes ironic because Mr. Lancaster marched through history far too quickly.

Similarly, in Chapter Nine, "Age of Corruption," putting Ralph's reports into the context of political corruption in the United States and in New York State would have added to the reader's understanding of the period. The reader is at a loss in trying to determine the significance of Ralph's coverage of the 1888 and 1892 conventions and the 1893 fight over limiting coinage of silver because Lancaster provides no historical background. One final example will suffice. No historical analysis is provided for Ralph's coverage of the Venzuala-British Guiana boundary dispute. This emerged as a major diplomatic issue of the Cleveland era and the historical background is essential to understanding why Ralph's coverage was important. The editors of Syracuse University Press should have taken advantage of the expertise available in the Syracuse University History Department. Several of its faculty members could have given constructive suggestions to strengthen three chapters in Lancaster's biography of Ralph.

Another omission also surprised me. Considering the problems that Ralph had as a foreign correspondent covering the Sino-Japanese War, Greco-Turkish War and the Boer War, there is little in the book dealing with the issue of military censorship in late nineteenth-century journalism. I would have liked to have seen Mr. Lancaster place Ralph's experiences into the context of other journalists reporting on war.

Despite these reservations about *Gentleman of the Press* as social or political history, Mr. Lancaster has written a major work of journalism history. Throughout his study, Mr. Lancaster demonstrates an understanding of how journalism and reporting developed. His biography of Ralph is written with style and wit. Anyone interested in the history of journalism should read *Gentleman of the Press*. Faculty, students, professional journalists, and laypersons will be fascinated by Mr. Lancaster's history of journalism and the exploits of Julian Ralph of the *Sun*.

Harvey Strum, Sage Junior College of Albany

Arthur Lubow, ***The Reporter Who Would Be King: A Biography of Richard Harding Davis.*** Charles Scribner's Sons, 1992. 438 pp. Cloth, $25.00

Before the age of thirty, Richard Harding Davis (1864-1916) had, through his flamboyant style and deliberate personification of the *fin-de-siecle, beau ideal*, become the most celebrated journalist of his day. As one social historian wrote, "It is hard to exaggerate the extent of the spell [he] cast over the reading public in the early 1890s." Yet, unlike a number of his journalistic contemporaries such as Stephen Crane, Jack London, Mark Twain and Henry James, upon his death both Davis and his work were immediately forgotten.

Writing with verve and eloquence, Arthur Lubow, a senior contributor to *Vanity Fair*, masterfully succeeds in illuminating not only his protagonist, but also the ephemeral nature of his place in journalism history. Drawing on an impressive range of unpublished materials, scholarly sources, and Davis's own writings, the book provides, as all serious biography must, both telling glimpses of its subject's inner life and a clear window into the prevailing ethos of the period. In the latter instance, the reader is especially rewarded, for the author deftly captures the full romanticism of the turn-of-the-century United States which Davis, in both his life and letters, strove so resolutely to represent.

Born, as an earlier biographer noted, "with a silver pen in his mouth" to parents of some literary accomplishment (his mother was Rebecca Harding, a pioneer in literary realism), Davis decided early on a career in journalism. Working first for a number of Philadelphia papers, then the New York *Evening Sun*, his eye for detail and evocative writing style quickly won him wide acclaim. Most important, he came of age in the late 1880s, exactly coincident with America's first obsession with youth and energy (see also "The 1960s"; viz. "The Pepsi Generation"). His mannered, late-Victorian lyricism was totally perfect for the celebration of the domestic icons of the times – the Gibson Girl, the Gay Nineties' bicycling craze, and the American Beauty rose – and at the age of only twenty-six, he was offered the editorship of *Harper's Weekly*.

Although Davis would also try his hand at fiction and plays, war correspondence proved to be his true metier, and his reporting on every major conflict from the Greco-Turkish War (1896) to World War I dominated the war coverage of the period. His idealized and, to a modern sensibility, quaintly chivalrous view of combat served to glorify both the era's imperial wars and America's new-found ascendancy on the world stage. The romance of battle, moreover, suited not only his prose, but his skills as a *poseur*. His extensive personal equipage, for example, was widely noted. "If he were cut up into small pieces," the Springfield *Republican* commented during the Spanish-American War, "he would furnish the insurgents with arms and equipments for a whole winter." Indeed, while reporting on the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, his folding cot, travel armchair, and combination canteen-and-cooking kit were personally inspected, and appropriated by General Fukushima. Davis was later delighted to learn that some of what his journalistic colleagues called his "plumage" had been used as models for the entire Imperial army.

Within the larger frame of social history, there may be lessons in Davis's life for contemporary journalists. There are, however, no facile moralisms here, for one of Lubow's most notable achievements is the "thoughtful narrator" he has fashioned to tell his subject's story. Based on a wealth of rigorously footnoted primary sources, including not only Davis's

published works but also insightful selections from a lifelong correspondence with his adoring mother and brother, parts of *The Reporter Who Would Be King* can be read as a cautionary tale.

Renown came to Davis very early, but his subsequent career evidenced surprisingly little artistic growth. As an adult, writes Lubow, Davis "would strive to duplicate not his youthful achievement but his precocious success." And in an age every bit as media-obsessed as our own, his true gift proved to be his ability to perfect, not his art, but his chosen role: Writer as Celebrity. "If you would succeed in journalism," the editor of the *Evening Sun* once sneered, "never lose your superficiality." Davis had nothing to fear on that account.

By his mid-thirties, the seductions of material comfort had replaced those of fame. "Why," asks Lubow, "do writers so often mortgage their futures to country estates?" (Davis's version of Crane's Brede Place or London's Wolf House was a Westchester manor, Crossroads Farm). Once he began writing only for money, he quickly "crossed over the line that separates those who please from those who pander." To this credit, Davis remained aesthetically self-aware, pronouncing some of his later work "disgracefully lightweight" and noting, "Today so many people write because the rewards are very great, but if he tries to hang laurels on his plough, he makes a mistake . . . We have no great writers now, no writers like Hawthorne. The men now manage to tell a story with some human interest in it, that's about all." This was, suggests Ludlow, "a nostalgia for the world one has helped destroy. It's a very *fin-de-siecle* sensibility, and a very modern one. And it is the essence of Davis's worldview."

Like prominent journalists of any age, Davis's relationship with the powerful was complex. For example, unable to obtain a berth on a U.S. Navy warship during the Spanish-American War, he did not hesitate to seek a letter of introduction from Washington "instructing the Admiral to take me on as I was writing history." A similar problem with access to the front occurred during the Russo-Japanese War. Stranded in Tokyo in a position not unlike that of the Dhahran Hilton rooftop intrepids during the recent Gulf War, his solution was to demand a note on his behalf from the U.S. Secretary of State.

Always the romantic, Davis was at times caught between his admiration for the underdog and his adoration of power and privilege. Though a lifelong Anglophile, his reporting on the Boer War clearly favored the Afrikaner side. During the Spanish-American War, he publicly impugned the loyalty of a colleague who revealed on the army's lack of preparation, though later would write news reports critical of the U.S. high command himself.

It is likely that his role in the rise of Theodore Roosevelt was the high point of Davis's journalistic career. Marching, and often fighting, side by side with the Rough Riders during the Santiago campaign, his dispatches from Cuba were largely responsible for the legend of the Charge Up San Juan Hill, as well as the subsequent flowering of Colonel Roosevelt's public aspirations. "Never has an American political figure better understood the needs and uses of the press," observes Lubow." Roosevelt cultivated journalists as an arborist tends fruit trees. He warmed them with the blaze of his nonstop activity; he watered them with flattering attentions and invitations; and, when it came time to harvest, he gathered bountiful fruit."

Viewed from our postmodernist perspective a full century later, much of Davis's life and work may seem an awkward pastiche of unconvincing poses. Certainly little of his writing has currency today; from his many years of war reportage, perhaps only "The Death of Rodriguez" from the Cuban Revolution

(1897) and "The Germans in Brussels" (1914) have a canonical claim to the literature of journalism. But it is important to remember that in his day he was, as he so sought to be, almost universally regarded as the paragon of the *belle epoque's* gentlemanly virtues. Even the curmudgeonly H.L. Mencken would later recall, "The hero of our dreams was Richard Harding Davis." As Lubow writes, "The creation of his own personality was Davis's greatest achievement. His romantic image brought him fame and wealth in his lifetime; but without the whirligig of his charm, his posthumous name plummeted to oblivion." For what it tells us not only about Dickie Davis, but also about ourselves and our own history, one can only hope that this excellent biography will remedy that.

David Abrahamson, New York University

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John Anthony Maltese, ***Spin Control: The White House Office of Communications and the Management of Presidential News.*** . Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1992. 297 pp. Cloth, $29.95.

What a treasure for the editors at the University of North Carolina Press. Before Ross Perot. Before Larry King. 'Way before the mood of the country turned surely about U.S. politics before the 1992 presidential election. With presidential hopefuls -- including George Bush -- elbowing each other to reach out to voters via King, Phil, Oprah, Arsenio and MTV, it was the perfect time to take the long view.

Political scientist John Anthony Maltese covers the presidency from the perspective of controlling media access to the White House. In eight chapters, he meticulously assesses five administrations, from Richard Nixon to George Bush.

Maltese is a assistant professor of political science at the University of Georgia. He began work on spin control as a seminar paper, which then matured into his doctoral dissertation. Sam Donaldson of ABC snidely accuses Maltese of "scholarly dryness"; not so. While the author is meticulous, he balances developmental detail with anecdotal color. *Spin Control* is the 1990s sequel to Joe McGinness' major work of the Nixon campaign, *The Selling of the President, 1968*. Journalism historians will respect the meticulous records search that Maltese undertook in compiling this scrutiny of how the White House power structure manages the American media. Maltese claims to be among the first scholars to analyze the huge body of presidential papers opened over the last five years. He analyzes in detail how five U.S. presidents and their key advisors viewed the role of the press in shaping public policy.

From Nixon to Bush, the yearning to put a favorable "spin" on what each administration wanted to achieve overlapped partisan politics, and, often, what was legal. That desire was so strong for Richard Nixon, who initiated the Office of Communications in 1969, that Maltese needed two chapters to assess the Nixon years. The other four presidents only got one chapter each.

If you like to read about heroes, Maltese won't suit your taste. His exploration goes back to Dwight Eisenhower's presidency, circa 1954, when press secretary James Hagerty initiated informal meetings with departmental public information officers. By 1969, when Nixon formalized the Office of Communications, the job was made permanent. Each successive administration

utilized the communications office, some using overtly political tactics more than others. But Maltese makes it clear that each of the five presidents saw a need to control the press for political premiums.

Maltese crafted his records search under the guidance of Scott M. Cutlip, dean emeritus of the University of Georgia School of Journalism. Cutlip, a scholar of the Office of Communications, made his own notes and files of interviews and clippings dating back to the early 1970s available to Maltese. The author also re-reviewed manuscript collections in the Carter, Ford and Johnson presidential libraries, as well as the Nixon Presidential Materials Project. The author notes that he approached his study as a combination of political science and political history. (Take that, Sam Donaldson.)

"I have been among the first scholars to tap these papers and have supplemented them with over fifty personal interviews, most of which are on the record. . . , " Maltese observes in his introduction. Between 1988 and 1990, the author conduct 44 interviews with such key players as H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, Ronald Zieglar, Larry Speakes, Gerald Rafshoon and Jerald terHorst.

What the book -- and the Office of Communications -- are about is power. Maltese starts with Nixon, who referred to "The Press" as "the enemy.' The Nixon legacy of Watergate excesses, staff power plays and general political disarray, still reflects an important period in the evolution of a strong role for the Office of Communications in implementing presidential policy, the author contends.

Technological advances during the Reagan years aided the spin controllers. Computer terminals were essential tools to keep information coordinated throughout the executive branch and key departments. Network broadcasters were monitored and assessed. Camera crews were treated with favor; print journalists fumed over being ignored by the presidential staff. Satellite technology and the use of free time from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce offered "live from Washington" feeds to local TV stations. Maltese portrays a frighteningly effective system of bypassing the major networks and wire services; Reagan's staff delighted. There was even a Republican Television Network developed to put the official party spin on convention news beginning in 1984. It was so professional that all three major networks plugged in to supplement their smaller pool coverage -- a spin controller's dream scene.

Maltese delivers a sober accounting with a clear message about the dangers of managed news:

"From the White House perspective, control of the agenda is a essential component of successful policy-making. But such manipulation can raise serious problems from the point of view of democratic theory."

When his book was published on the eve of the 1992 election, Maltese suggested that readers recognize when style is substituted for substance. Sam Donaldson aside, "Spin Control" is solid substance.

Jean Chance, University of Florida

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Louise McReynolds,***The News Under Russia's Old Regime.*** Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1991. Cloth, $45.

Louise McReynolds traces the history of Russia's most important newspapers from the time they were all run by the rulers until the time they

were all run by the rulers. In between they were free, in a manner of speaking, privately owned. But the Russian press has never been free in a Western sense.

McReynolds marks 1865 as the beginning of Russia's Old Regime press era. On this date government censorship was revised to allow development of mass-circulation newspapers. The temporarily liberal Tsar Alexander II, whose most famous act was to free the serfs in 1861, also freed the press. But newspaper liberty was relative in this authoritarian state; publishers in major cities were allowed to petition for removal of prepublication censorship, but had to deposit 5,000 rubles to be used for anticipated fines.

Still, this meant a lot to a society in which the state had exclusive control of printing presses and political news. It meant new papers could challenge the hegemony of the "thick" journals, Russian newspaper-like periodicals serving the intellectual elite with an assortment of literature, science and more-or-less sycophantic politics.

After sketching the run-up to 1865, McReynolds proceeds to trace the development of Russia's most important dailies in St. Petersburg and Moscow, continuing until the Russian Revolution when, under Lenin, all commercial newspapers were shut down in 1918. From *Golos (The Voice)*, Russia's first commercial independent mass-circulation paper, to *Kopeika*, Russia's late-blooming "penny press" forced out of business by the Bolshevists, McReynolds' book tells the story of modern press development under Russia's atavistic 19th-century conservatism.

What is surprising is that despite incessant censorship, lifted during this period for only two months of the Kerenski government, a fairly prosperous commercial press developed at all. Russia had its big story scandals, its celebrity reporters on large salaries, its investigative journalism, and even its popular tabloid press, in St. Petersburg called the "boulevard press." These developed slowly compared with the West, however. Russia's first one-kopeck "penny press," for instance, did not appear until 1905.

McReynolds' history fills a yawning gap in our knowledge of the Russian press, and helps us to understand difficulties of today's Russian media. As McReynolds' history illustrates, Russia has no tradition of a free press on which to rely in its contemporary struggle to form a post-Communist media. The press in most Western countries, conversely, built modern media operations on long-won principles of free information. On the other hand, Reynolds shows that Russia once did have a strong independent press, and it thrived for more than half a century.

Readers looking for influences of Bloshevism on pre-Revolutionary newspapers will be disappointed; the author mostly ignores this topic. Perhaps Russian censorship kept that news out of the papers, but it would be useful to know that. Also useful would be a more comprehensive discussion of Russian censorship, its operation and parameters. For instance, McReynolds does not make mention of the interesting fact that censors would not allow newspapers to print the word "revolution" before 1905. But generally McReynolds offers a rare resource for most European press historians whose foreign languages do not include Russian.

Ross Collins, University of North Dakota (Grand Forks)

Patricia Mellencamp, ***Indiscretions: Avant-Garde Film, Video, and Feminism.*** Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1990. 254 pp. Cloth, $29.95. Paper, $12.95.

This is a book you will either love or loathe. I'll quote from the book blurb to give you an idea of what the book is about and then comment afterwards. This is what the publisher has to say: "*Indescretions* follows the path of U.S. avant-garde film and video form the underground of the 1960s through the academy of the 1980s. Although some have envisioned avant-garde film and videos in the realm of art and aesthetics, they actually share the values and practices of a couterculture, infused with the newly arrived continental theory. Patricia Mellencamp traces and charts the intersection of Lacanian psychoanalysis and the desiring male subject, Roland Barthes and texts of pleasure, Michel Foucault and the disciplinary society, the grotesque body and Mikhail Bakhtin, the rhizomatic alogic of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattare, and the female subject of feminist film theory. She creates a dialogue among theory, popular culture, and politics through inventive renderings of the films of Owen Land, Hollis Frampton, Ken Jacobs, Bruce Conner, Robert Nelson, Michael Snow, Yvonne Rainer, and Sally Potter and the video of Ant Farm, TVTV, Michael Smith, William Wegman, and Cecelia Condit." *Indiscretions* includes 17 pages of notes and an index.

By now you are ready for more information or onto the next review. A reading of her book shows Mellencamp is a good scholar, knowledgeable in the various film theories. She also teaches art at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. This helps explain the strengths and weaknesses of a work such as *Indescretions* – it either strikes you as fantastically involving or marginal drivel. While I don't think the latter is particularly appropriate since *Indescretions* reworks the entire field of avant-garde cinema from a feminist perspective not cogently presented before, many media historians will find their eyes glazing over. The problem she faces involves her basic topic – by definition avant-garde tends to drive itself (and us with it) over the edge into potentially great insight or psycho-babble. Unlike conventional Hollywood style filmmaking, which can be studied from a script, most of the works she analyzes depend on an experiential gestalt for which the book is less suited than the compilation documentary.

Richard Alan Nelson, Kansas State University

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James W. Parins, ***John Rollin Ridge: His Life and Works.*** Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1991. 252 pp. Cloth, $30.

Twelve-year-old John Rollin Ridge watched the murder of his father on dawn morning in June, 1839. Twenty-five men from the Cherokee Tribal Council surrounded the family's farm home, dragged the father into the yard, stabbed him many times, severed his jugular vein, threw his struggling body around, and stomped over it on the ground. His family watched in horror while the men threatened them at gunpoint. That experience, John Rollin Ridge later wrote, "has darkened my mind with an eternal shadow" (p. 30). And biographer James W. Parins says it influenced all of Ridge's subsequent writings as a poet and journalist.

Ten years earlier, Rollin's father and grandfather had helped write the law making the sale of Cherokee lands a capital offense. But times had changed

and the Ridge family, including newspaper editor Elias Boudinot, led the treaty faction which supported removal from Georgia to Indian Territory west of the Mississippi as the best way to protect the Cherokee future.

Parins devotes his first two chapters to Ridge's family history. He mentions but glosses over the facts that the Ridge family stopped at the Hermitage to visit former President Andrew Jackson, the most vociferous advocate of removal, on their trip west and that they named one of Rollin's brothers for the former president.

Within John Rollin Ridge's own life, however, Parins sharply draws dilemmas and contradictions. "He was proud of his Cherokee heritage, yet he totally espoused the Euro-American doctrine of progress, with all its racial baggage," Parins writes of Ridge. ". . .He fought prejudice against Indians and Spanish Americans, yet he was active in the Know-Nothing party and the Knights of the Golden Circle" (p. 222).

Ridge worked throughout the West as a poet, journalist, and editor, but he failed to achieve his goal of becoming a tribal leader in his father's tradition. And he never created the national American Indian newspaper of which he dreamed. Nor did he complete his comprehensive study of Native Americans. His poems reveal an exaggerated capacity for both self-pity and self-importance.

Heading to the California gold fields as a young man, Ridge sought economic improvement, adventure and status. But he soon turned to newspaper work after realizing that more wealth was to be gained from the prospectors than the mines. He began as a correspondent and local agent for the New Orleans *True Delta*. Throughout his career, he wrote poems and articles for local and national newspapers and magazines. The son of a slave-holding family, he opposed both abolitionism and succession. Once the Civil War began, he supported the South and vilified Lincoln until the president was assassinated.

Parins devotes a chapter to Ridge's *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta, the Celebrated Californias Bandit*, a 1854 equivalent of a modern docudrama. The book perpetuated a hispanic stereotype, and it was widely copied and plagiarized. In his main character, Ridge found a kindred spirit and the amount of truth in this influential story remains a subject of speculation.

Parins takes a straightforward look at the texts he confronts, rather than providing a complex psychological analysis. Ridge had early lessons in courage from his father and a white female school teacher who stood up to both Cherokee and white male opposition to her teaching methods. Clearly, he was tortured by guilt in the feuds between full bloods and half-breeds and between progressive and traditional Cherokees. In journalism, he defended women journalists, attacked his colleagues for plagiarism, and criticized those who insinuated that their rivals were untalented. Newspapers and magazines, Ridge said, should instruct as well as entertain.

Parins' book would be strengthened with some full-length examples of Ridge's journalism to complement the letters and poems used to illustrate his ideas. But this study, like Daniel F. Littlefield's recent biography of Alexander Posey, increases our understanding of Native American writers. Parins' and Littlefield's biographies of progressive native journalists continue their contributions begun as coauthors of multivolume bibliographies of Native American writers and publications.

William Huntzicker, University of Minnesota

Lucas A. Powe, Jr., ***The Fourth Estate and the Constitution: Freedom of the Press in America.*** The University of California Press, 1991. 350 pp. Cloth, $29.95.

Lucas Powe, Jr. weaves three themes in his quest for an "intellectually cohesive" theory of press freedom and borrows Edmund Burke's metaphor, the "Fourth Estate," for its name. He makes freedom of the press one of the centerpieces that lends energy and restraint to the "delicate balance" of the American system.

Powe interlaces these elements to arrive at his Fourth Estate model: (a) the quasi-constitutional argument that the press is a check on government, (b) Justice Potter Stewart's "press as institution" interpretation of press freedom, and (c) the theoretic agenda-setting function of the press.

The "citizen's ability to criticize caustically is constitutionally enshrined," Powe writes, as he builds to embrace Justice Potter Stewart's speech at Yale in which the justice said the framers guaranteed "the institutional autonomy of the press" as "a fourth institution outside the government to check the potential excesses of the other three branches." Powe concludes that the power of the free press "at its peak, is that of agenda setting."

He believes, because he opposes single theory solutions, that two mainstream First Amendment theories complement his Fourth Estate model: the Marketplace of Ideas, based on truth and rationality, and Meiklejohn's Political Speech theory, based on the sovereignty of the citizenry and its need for self-governance intelligence. However, Powe postulates that the checking nature of the Fourth Estate model more precisely meets the needs of the press in the late twentieth century than these earlier models.

Along the way the University of Texas law professor rejects other models that have promised help across a spectrum of cases: Absolutism because the "no prior restraints" doctrine may be in "functional obsolescence," the Preferred Position model because it produces the problem of privilege among critics, the Right to Know model because it is not "self-executing," and Barron's Access model because it attracts inquiry into media performance.

He also handles expertly explorations of the framers' First Amendment intentions, early constitutional challenges, libel, prior restraint, access and antitrust and uses them for context for his theoretical analysis.

One of the most interesting necessary outcomes of Powe's Fourth Estate model is its exclusion of the freedom of expression guarantee. He reasons that the latter is "too universal" and that freedom of the press issues address problems that are more specific than freedom of expression.

Powe's commitment to freedom of the press is undeniable; his book is challenging. He believes "it is possible to have a democracy without judicial review, though not without freedom of the press. . . ."

Charlie Marler, Abilene Christian University

Paula Rabinowitz, ***Labor and Desire: Women's Revolutionary Fiction in Depression America.*** University of North Carolina Press, 1991. 222 pp. Cloth, $29.95. Paper, $12.95.

Caryl Rivers, ***More Joy Than Rage: Crossing Generations with the New Feminism.*** University Press of New England, 1991. 238 pp. Cloth, $22.95.

Dealing with two different periods in the history of U.S. women's writing, both of these works shed some light on the history of literary nonfiction among other topics. Paula Rabinowitz's *Labor and Desire* surveys more than forty novels of the Depression era, including Agnes Smedley's *Daughters of Earth* (1929) and Mary McCarthy's *The Company She Keeps* (1942). Rabinowitz, and English professor at the University of Minnesota, demonstrates that all these novels, most of which have been considered to be of marginal significance by scholars, are actually essential to an understanding of 1930s U.S. fiction. In their sum, Rabinowitz writes, they "provide access to a gendered history of 1930s literary radicalism that revises many of the accounts already written about this period and explains why women have been occluded in most of them. Because gender was not recognized as a salient political category by the Left – although it figured as a metaphoric one – few have thought to look for the women's voices among those recorded." Ultimately she shows how class consciousness was shaped by metaphors of gender during the 1930s. This is a major reinterpretation of the period's radical fiction that might be fruitfully explored in relation to the many works of advocacy journalism and/or literary nonfiction that were also produced by women during this period (including Agnes Smedley, Anna Louise Strong, Mary Heaton Vorse, and Dorothy Day).

Caryl Rivers, a journalism professor at Boston University, has authored four novels, four nonfiction books, and many articles for publications including *Rolling Stone*, *Glamour*, *Mother Jones*, *Quill*, and the *New York Times Magazine*. *More Joy Than Rage* gathers nearly three dozen of her magazine essays spanning the years 1971 to 1990. Topics range form growing up Catholic, marriage, and childrearing, to gender and stress, and sexual harassment. An excerpt form a 1978 *Mother Jones* article: "Sex in the office has been a staple of jokes and cartoons for a long time. Puffing, paunchy bosses chasing sweet young things around the desk are always good for a gag line. It is never very humorous for the woman who has to dodge the boss behind the file cabinets. Every woman who has held a job has run into the guy with the "creeping feelies" or the dirty mouth or the 'funny' remarks that are about as funny as T.B. But she has probably regarded him as another of life's aggravations, as inexorable as the flu, buses that don't run on time or heat rash."

These thoughtful essays leavened with ironic humor illuminate the concerns of the women's movement of the 1970s and 1980s. This is a welcome body of literary nonfiction from recent history that would be useful in literary journalism courses.

Nancy L. Roberts, University of Minnesota

Nan Robertson, ***The Girls in the Balcony: Women, Men and "The New York Times."*** Random House, 1992. 274 pp. Cloth, $22.

Restricting newswomen to the National Press Club balcony where they could not question the newsmakers that male reporters were interviewing on the floor below is an ugly part of journalism history.

So is the century of putting gender as a hiring criterion ahead of professional qualifications at a newspaper claiming to be a moral leader in the journalism profession.

Nan Robertson's *The Girls in the Balcony: Women, Men, and the New York Times* has provided historians our first account of the wrenching effort to bring the newspaper literally kicking and screaming into the twentieth century. One can see from her first hand account – a *Times* reporter for nearly twenty years, she was one of the plaintiffs –it was not the law suit, of its out-of-court settlement in 1978, that brought change. It was the years of organizing in the 1970s both before and after the suit, based on massive research, carefully described by Robertson as the story unfolds that exposed the illegal discrimination, first to the women employees (also to the women in the Sulzberger family), to management, and to the public. The *Times* had no choice but to begin to make changes.

With skillful sketches of *Times* women from the 1850s to those of the present day, Robertson provides the necessary context for understanding the relationship over a century and a half of the *New York Times* with not only the women working for the paper, but also those in the Ochs-Sulzberger family. We see Sara Jane Clarke writing as Grace Greenwood from the 1850s (and in 1874 listed as accredited *Times* representative in the congressional press gallery) and Midy Morgan, livestock reporter beginning in 1869. But Adolph Ochs, when he became publisher in 1896, began forty years of an "unyielding stand against women on his staff" (not to mention his fighting personally and editorially against the right of women to vote). Anne O' Hare McCormick wrote for the *Times* but was not allowed to be on staff until after Ochs died in 1935; in 1937 she won a Pulitzer Prize. Other women gradually followed.

However, said Robertson, "His resistance to a feminine presence on the paper was subtly but unmistakably communicated to his family and to Times executives and editors for many a long year after his death." Well after other papers were hiring women, covering women's news, even using the term "Ms.", the *Times* was still resisting, and to this day, does not acknowledge wrongdoing. As one of the plaintiffs, a telephone advertising solicitor, said at the time of the suit, "I expected the *Times* to be an equal opportunity employer, a leader. . . I was astonished that the *Times* reacted like a corporation being sued. They closed ranks and tried to win, rather than trying to do the right thing, of opening their eyes."

The sketches of these men, of each of the seven plaintiffs (names well-known and unknown), and of their attorney Harriet Rabb, puts you beside them, able to see the resistance, comprehend the issues, and appreciate the outrage, determination, humor, and sense of history of the women. Reading of the suit, its long preparation and especially blow-by-blow accounts of the dramatic meetings with the *Times* management, you know you are reading a top-flight *Times* reporter and Pulitzer Prize-winner. Robertson is factual, perceptive, accurate. We also learn about the women who held back as well as the men who helped bring change. There are accounts of personal bias and condescension by

men we had considered our journalism heroes; and we discover the previously hidden history of the remarkably talented *Times* women they were trying to keep out of competition. Mini-histories abound not only in the individual sketches and in the *Times*-owning family history, even in new data on, for example, the changing women's pages.

But most important for journalism historians, Robertson has provided us the background facts for understanding not only what has gone before but what we need to know of the current situation to write the contemporary history of changes that are yet to come. It is clear there is more to come, Nan Robertson's book illustrates history as a dynamic living process. Through its revelations, her book will continue to cause the changes that then we will call history.

Donna Allen, Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press

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Harvey Sapolsky, Rhonda Crane, W. Russell Neuman and Eli M. Noam, eds., ***The Telecommunications Revolution: Past, Present, and Future.*** Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1992. 217 pp. Cloth, $49.95.

The predictions about telecommunications are always dramatic – that in ten to twenty years broadcasting, publishing and telecommunications will be integrated into one all digital broadband network, bringing telephone, text, graphics and high quality video directly into your home.

Communications media as we know them will be crushed under this coming tidal wave of new interactive telecommunications possibilities. And as privatization continues to diminish the role of government in telecommunications, competition is shouldering monopoly aside. What is paramount in this high-tech war is not the battle for your mind, as books like this demonstrate, but for control of the technologies going into your home or office or across continents, carrying the future embedded in means of light or radiowaves.

Although such predictions often reflect considerable naivete about human nature and the extent of investment in existing technologies (not to mention the immovable nature of existing systems), the time will no doubt come – at least for those of us fortunate enough to have access to the new array. How that process will be governed, politically, economically, territorially, is the focus of this anthology.

The slim volume complements a small but growing body of literature on global telecommunications in an information economy. Its stated purpose is to look at the origins and consequences of rapid changes on telecommunications policy worldwide. The underlying issue is the role of regulation – is it a force for stability and standards? Or for turgid, costly monopolies and technological stagnation? Obviously it can be both, and like riding a seesaw, the trick is finding the fulcrum. Sometimes, this book indicates, the trick is finding a way to foster implementation of new technology without becoming captive to its economic forces.

The book grew out of a symposium held to commemorate the contributions of Ithiel de Sola Pool to communications research in his three decades on the political science faculty at the Massachusetts Institute of

Technology (MIT). Author of the influential *Technologies of Freedom* , he helped established MIT's Center for International Studies and its Communications Policy Research Program and Communications Forum. He was one of the first to claim that developments in communications technology would revolutionize societies, arguing that the structure of the systems we use to communicate are as worthy of analysis as the content those systems carry.

That perspective pervades this collection, a motley amalgam of works by professors, policy-makers and corporate executives (it is perhaps worth noting that AT&T helped fund the symposium and the book). In examining the regulation and deregulation of global telecommunications policies and networks, the book includes much that is valuable to the communications historian about how we got where we are in this complicated and important policy arena.

The book offers detailed analysis of communications policy developments in the United States, Europe and Japan, and forecasts what issues need attention and resolution. It provides a clear overview of the political and economic forces that govern the decisions in this area. Its editors also thoughtfully include a glossary for the terms, from PTTs to RBOCs, which pepper any discussion of telecommunications. Their book is less sagacious, however, about the social forces and content issues also important to discussion of this revolution. In the review of nitty-gritty policy debates in the descriptions of clashing economic forces, some important issues get lost including the thrust of *Technologies of Freedom.*

For instance, insufficient attention is paid to equity issues that gave birth to the idea of common carriers and a host of regulators and standards in the first place. The same is true of important access issues, such as the rural/urban split in this country. Even less attention is paid to a more widespread telecommunications problem – that in many parts of the world, places the majority of the world's population calls home, people do not even have reliable telephone communications (or an electrical infrastructure to support other technologies and their most important product, information). Quite naturally, most of the book pertains to the United States, yet it is nearly bereft of commentary on some critical telecommunications issues such as spectrum allocation.

Also getting short shrift are some very real concerns about cultural colonialism in the telecommunications revolution and the influence of these concerns on regulation. To use broadcasting lingo, there is not enough "product" to fill the burgeoning capacity, and what is available is U.S. dominated because of its high quality production standards and comparative cost effectiveness. That may help explain why some countries have been maddeningly slow to turn over control of their telecommunications infrastructures to free market economic forces, despite clear indication in country after country that failure to deregulate inhibits telecommunications development.

Where the book's strengths lie, however, is in its examinations of the interplay of economic and governmental forces, in laying out the political and economic dynamics that foster or hinder development of telecommunications capabilities in this country and worldwide. And as the book demonstrates, those dynamics will not only determine what options consumers have, but also impact in critical ways the industrial and economic health of the players in this complicated global game.

The editors are to be commended for the carefully crafted preface (by Harvey Sapolsky) which puts the issues and the readings in context, and the

epilogue (by W. Russel Neumann), appropriately titled "Communications Policy in Crisis," which clearly defines the specific issues and areas where research is critically needed. The book, less uneven than such assemblages tend to be, is an important and valuable resource, as up-to-date as any book can be in a field that changes month by month.

It will be a useful tool for those interested in communications policy past, present and future, particularly for those with interest in international communication, public administration, and policy research. It offers a valuable snapshot of trends, including some deadends, in current thinking about interests and policies that govern this field.

An enlightening corrective included in *The Telecommunications Revolution* is Lester C. Thurow's "Is Telecommunications Truly Revolutionary?" Thurow's name is gaining considerable currency of late from his new work, *Head to Head : The Coming Economic Battle Among Japan, Europe and America*). In his brief epistle in this volume, he concludes that telecommunications may well be significant enough to be termed the third revolution in the industrial world, after trains and electricity, because of its impact on world financial affairs and potential worker productivity. However, he also wryly notes to the telecommunication zealots that, so far, much of this revolution has come down to automating the same old paper shuffling, and that many workers – with the telecommunications world potentially at their fingertips – never turn on their machines.

Sandra Haarsager, University of Idaho

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Stephen O. Saxe and John DePol, ill., ***American Iron Hand Presses.*** Oak Knoll Books, 1992. 108 pp. Cloth, $35.00. Paper, $9.95.

At first look, *American Iron Hand Presses* seems a not too important work in American printing history. For one thing, the book contains fewer than 100 pages of text, undertaking much less than Moran's *Printing Presses* (1973) or Ralph Green's *The Iron Hand Press in America* (1948). It does provide a separate narration on each of seventeen different press designs that went into production and resulted in much of America's print output during the first two thirds of the nineteenth century; however, it makes little effort to interweave these individual accounts and explain the development of the iron hand press into a sophisticated (by 1850 standards) technology. The seventeen presses developed incrementally, but Saxe gives little attention to this cumulative effect. And he disavows any intent to examine the networking that must have gone on among these inventors and their machinists over the sixty-year period.

Thus the subtitle, *The Story of the Iron Hand Press in America*, is misleading. It's not "the story;" it's seventeen individual chapters in "the story."

But this little book has its virtues. It tells specifically where examples of each of these presses may still be found. It gives considerable information on some presses not included in the Moran or Green books. And although he depends mostly on secondary sources, Saxe draws on his contacts in the American Printing History Association (he edited its newsletter) for clarification of some obscure points.

The book's greatest appeal, however, is in its illustrations – a detailed portrait of each of fifteen presses by wood engraver John DePol. It makes sense that a book detailing the history of American hand presses would use an illustrative technique other than photography to represent these machines. These engravings by DePol provide a visual treatment to the mixture of technology, art, and craft that the printing press has brought us through the centuries.

As stated in Saxe's introduction, DePol's engravings were the impetus for the book. The author notes the compatibility of the illustrations with the text by describing the long association of the hand press with the art of wood engraving. The engravings display a wonderful attention to detail and are indeed reminiscent of the kind of work that would have been produced by these historic presses.

The complete story has not yet been told, but this unusually short addition makes its contribution in an attractive and effective way.

George Everett and Rob Heller,
University of Tennessee-Knoxville

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Elliott Shore, Ken Fones-Wolf, and James P. Danky, eds., ***The German-American Radical Press:; The Shaping of a Left Political Culture, 1850-1940.*** Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1992. 247 pp. Cloth, $36.95.

The German-American Radical Press is a book that will not only appeal to students of American journalism. Those examining the story of labor relations, anarchist movements, and the quick demise of socialism at the rise of industrialization in the United States will also find a wealth of untapped information in this collection of eleven contributions by journalism historians. Although the book jacket recommends it to "feminist historians" as well, for them the pickings are slim. Only two among the eleven papers (by Carol Poore and Ruth Seifert) include women readers, writers and editors, and of these, only Seifert's deals with emancipation and suffrage conflicts within the German-American radical press.

But the importance of his book is not determined by criteria of "political correctness" and "journalistic balance." The editors performed a valuable service to the study of journalism by their very choice of the topic. Presenting a collection of well-researched and largely well-written essays on German language papers in the New World, they reviewed a part of history that has been ignored too long.

Dividing the contents into four parts, the book offers the reader a guided tour through the radical press of expatriated Germans that begins with refugees from the 1848 Revolution and ends with those from the Nazi regime. With circulations of several hundred to several thousand, these papers were always tendentious, often "intellectual" in scope and slant, and usually allied with "Turn-und Liedervereine" (sport and sing clubs); "Gewerkschaften" (unions); "Genossenschaften" (trade associations); "Arbeiterbunde" (workers' coalitions); "Arbeiter Krankenund Sterbe-Kassen" (workers' health and life assurances), or various shades of socialist-, anarchist- and communist- oriented labor parties. They sported names like *Der Deutsch Pionier, Feidenker, Der Arme Teufel, Arbeiterzeitung, Freie Blatter, Vorbote, Der Proletarier, Volkszeitung, Vorwarts* -- just to mention the more renown among the countless many. Reflecting the

stereotypical German trait of "Vereinsmeierei" (clubbing), Wilhelm Weitling, founder of the 19th century New Yorker *Die Republik der Arbeiter*, observed already in 1850: "Everybody wants to put out a little paper, everybody wants to lead an association, everybody wants to start a fund. . ."

Whether the focus in these essays is on the diversity of background, education or social status of immigrant editors or the papers' progressive, socialist or anarchist views, most make for lively reading. Such familiar events as the Haymarket affair take on a deeper, more poignant meaning when presented against the backdrop of the restless Chicago "Arbeiterbewegung" that found an outlet for its frustrations in the German "Arbeiterpresse."

For that reason, it is difficult to agree with the critique expressed in the Envoi of this collection. While Moses Rischin is correct in noting the omission of references to the union leader Walter Reuther, it must be pointed out that the focus of these contributions is *not* historic labor, but rather *press* issues. Also, stating that "Seifert's paper would have been even more valuable had the women question been placed in a larger American ethnocultural context" diverts attention from the core of her essay: "Women's Pages in the German American Radical Press, 1900-1914: The Debate on Socialism, Emancipation, and the Suffrage."

"It is a measure of American historians' linguistic provincialism that only in recent years have some scholars, mostly Germans, begun to examine the papers in its own right," writes Paul Buhle. The present volume may well reverse this trend and serve as a catalyst for further studies. Moreover, in the wake of a multi-ethnic "roots" movement, it could spearhead an academic rediscovery of quasi-lost cultural influences that have furnished a basic ingredient to the American melting pot.

Elfriede H. Kristwald, Atlanta, Georgia

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Raymond Snoddy, ***The Good, The Bad and the Unacceptable. The Hard News.*** Faber & Faber, 1992. 210 pp. Cloth, $24.95.

As the media correspondent of the *Financial Times* and the presenter of the highly praised ITV Press series, "Hard News," Raymond Snoddy provides a critical commentary on the British press in which he seeks to determine why the self-regulatory press is under threat of sweeping legislation to curb its excesses. "Has the press in Britain," asks Snoddy, "gone so far that only legislation can curb its arrogance and mitigate the hurt caused by insensitive and incompetent reporting?" Hence the central point of this book is that "all journalists, broadsheets no less that tabloid, . . . [must] . . . make the time to get off the treadmill of deadlines to think a little more about what they do, the effect it can have on their fellow citizens and the impact their work is having on the reputation of the press. . ."(xiv).

Snoddy succinctly reviews "The State of the Press in the late 1980's" and provides examples of how two people--a British Rail ticket collector and a member of Parliament--were subjected to painful and damaging headlines in tabloid newspapers on the basis of stories which were false. Oddly enough, such "atrocities" did not unduly perturb the public which, when surveyed, favored a press made more responsibly self-regulation that by direct government fiat. This raises such "unanswered" questions as to whether popular newspapers "get a new

mandate for what they do every day from the market-place" and therefore only give the public what it wants (p. 17).

In the second and third chapters, Snoddy deals with some "Press Scandals" and "Classic Press Campaigns" during the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries which yielded positive results. This was indeed good journalism, but "Good journalism . . . [requires] . . . a favorable newspaper culture and context" in which individual journalists have the strong support of "enlightened editors" who resist threats of legal action and attempts of lobbyists, public relations firms, and politicians to manipulate or intimidate the press (p. 60). However, Snoddy concedes that this "particular view" can have very negative results. That it can some times lead to "Enormous personal suffering . . . caused by individual newspaper stories that are inaccurate or that intrude into people's privacy for no good reason . . . " is well illustrated in chapter 4 on "False Information and the Press." He cites press coverage of the AIDS problem and the Strange ways Prison revolt as examples of how false information -- published with the firm support of editors -- can mislead and cause great harm. Worse yet, it gave credence "to a public view that some newspapers will reject, deliberately or subconsciously, any report that might spoil a good or sensational story. . ." (p. 72).

In chapter 5, Snoddy renders an informative account of the government inquiries into the functioning of the press from 1947 through 1977 and notes that during the past forty years the British government has, on an average of once a decade, instituted either a Royal Commission or a major inquiry into the financial structure, ownership, and functioning of the British press. Thus while the Royal Commission in 1947 was motivated by the concern that too many newspapers were in the hands of too few proprietors and by a fear of a decline in press standards, the second Royal Commission, in 1961-62, investigated "the financial health of the press" and again the over concentration of ownership. The third Royal Commission studied all aspects of the structure and performance of the press during 1974-77 and basically sought a formula for achieving a balance between maintaining the greatest extent of freedom for the press and protecting the public's privacy from "harmful intrusions" by the press.

The special committees concentrated on the problems of political bias, violations of privacy, inaccuracy, sensationalism, and "the extent to which some newspapers have become playthings of rich and powerful men" (p. 74). They solicited oral and written evidence from persons working in all sectors of the newspaper industry and supplemented such information with data from public opinion polls and content analysis of newspapers. But Snoddy is convinced that "in terms of policies changed or visible effects on press behavior" the achievements of these inquiries have been modest because most of their recommendations were "quietly ignored" (p. 73). Indeed, the major achievement of these investigations was the establishment of a body for the self-regulation of the press -- the General Council of the Press, which later became the Press Council, and in turn was replaced by the Press Complaints Commission.

Self-regulation, however, was not successful and in 1990 the British press almost came under statutory control because of a series of outrageous invasions of privacy and grossly inaccurate reporting by the *Sunday Sport* and the sex mongering tabloid *Sun*. Parliament voiced concern about "depraved" press standards and considered enacting "Right of Reply" and "Privacy" legislation. Although these rumblings subsided in the House of Commons, the Home Office responded to demands for government action by establishing the

"Committee into Privacy and Related Matters" under the chairmanship of the distinguished barrister David Calcutt and made it clear to the press that the Calcutt Committee was its last chance at self-regulation. Snoddy's account of the Committee's deliberations is one of the best parts of this book.

The Calcutt Committee's stern report (June 2, 1990) shocked the press with its recommendation to replace the ineffectual Press Council with a Press Complaints Commission and its warning that "if the 'last chance' for self-regulation did not work it would be replaced by a statutory tribunal presided over by a judge." The report also recommended that physical intrusion into people's homes, gardens, hotel rooms, or hospital wards "without public-interest justification" should be made a criminal offence against privacy and that, in view of this recommendation, the new Press Complaints Commission should include (1) a twenty-four hour "hotline" for those whose privacy was about to be violate; (2) the publication of a comprehensive code of practice for the press; and (3) the requirement that the press render proper published apologies to victims of invasions of privacy and inaccurate newspaper statements. On January 1, 1991, the Press Complaints Commission was established and has since functioned quite well.

The remaining topics discussed by Snoddy include "Proprietors and Press Standards" (which provides some keen insights on some of the press magnates); "Editors and Press Standards" (the reaction of some major editors to the maintenance of standards); a concise estimate of "The Press in the U.S.A."; his version of existing "Constraints on the Press"; and a view of "The Way Ahead" for the British press in which he asserts that the "three characteristics which mark the behaviors of the British newspapers" are "an almost pathological reluctance to admit errors and say sorry, a deep sensitivity to criticism and a marked distaste for thinking about the consequences of what they do." (186)

This is certainly a thought-provoking book which presents a realistic view of the British press. It could have been much enlivened by photographs of the press personalities discussed in such attractive prose.

J.O. Baylen, Emeritus, Eastbourne, England

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Lynn Spigel, ***Make Room for TV: Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America.*** Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992. 288 pp. Cloth, $42. Paper, $15.95.

It seems difficult to believe that there was ever any debate about whether television would become a medium of family entertainment. Given TV's omnipresence and today's choice of program selections, Spigel's thoughtful, well researched book is a reminder that things weren't always this way. Hers is a cultural history of the adoption of television by Americans in the years following World War II, when spectator amusements transferred from the theater to the home.

The author, an assistant professor at the School of Cinema-TV at the University of Southern California, examines how popular media from 1948-55 introduced television to the public and socialized women homemakers in ways to use TV. She analyzed women's magazines, advertisements, newspapers, TV programs and films to piece together an explanation of why and how the new medium came to be an essential part of contemporary life. While conceding that

television viewing is a part of "invisible history," the book makes a strong case that the acceptance of TV -- as with any new medium -- was based more on how it was presented within a social context. TV's rise as a cultural form, she says, was rooted in modern social priorities and our longstanding obsession with communication technologies, rather than being based on the controls of corporate America. Although skillful marketing in the postwar era played a major role in TV's acceptance, she explains it was successful because it fit domestic social norms in place since the Victorian era.

Spigel points out that, as with any new technology, there was an ambivalent response to TV -- it was both welcomed as a catalyst for the renewal of domestic values and criticized for its effects on family relationships and disruption of household functioning. That ambivalence, she explains, was part of a long history of hopes and fears about technology dating from the late nineteenth century when new electric communications were developed for everyday use. The debate over TV merely reflected the tensions and contradictions in post World War II society, given the highly structured gender and generalization roles implicit in that era's suburban nuclear family life.

The author explores hitherto ignored relationships in ideas about leisure and family structure. There is, for instance, a fascinating introductory chapter that traces changes in attitudes about leisure from the Victorian era to the present, laying a logical foundation for the assertion that in the suburban American dream house of the postwar era, with recreation held at a premium, TV became the most important element in the new family activities.

TV programmers recognized that fact and catered to the experiences of this white, middle class audience. Television became a central figure in representations of family relationships, with variety shows and situation comedies blurring the dividing line between TV's world and reality. Television of the 1950s produced for viewers a "virtual facsimile community," with neighborhoods and families that seemed to share the experiences suburban America shared. TV soap operas were designed to minimize interference with housework, and afternoon women's programs developed to encourage integration of housework, and afternoon women's programs developed to encourage integration of housework, consumerism and TV entertainment.

With the advent of today's "electronic cornocopia" of cable, statellites, video technology, HDTV and digital sound, Spigel points out that many of the same social selling devices used to introduce TV forty years ago are being used today. Like then, these new technologies promise to solve social problems and replace the monotony of everyday life with "thrilling, all-encompassing entertainment spectacles." Whether society will be any better served than the first time around remains to be seen.

W. Richard Whitaker, Buffalo State College

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Joseph Stone and Tim Yohn, ***Prime Time and Misdemeanors: Investigating the 1950s TV Quiz Scandal: A D.A.'s Account.*** New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992. 370 pp. Cloth, $22.95.

New York assistant district attorney Joseph Stone (with writer Tim Yohn) definitively recounts the tortuous investigation of a broad path of deception by the 1950s big money TV quiz programs. Six hit shows on two TV networks attracted fifty million viewers weekly to watch bright, personable contestants respond under seemingly intense pressure to answer recondite questions for enormous cash prizes. Involved were contestants, program package producers, advertisers and their agencies, networks, and lawyers, as well as the New York District Attorney's office, the Justice Department, committees of the U.S. House of Representatives, the Federal Communications Commission and the Federal Trade Commission.

A watershed in TV's role in American society, the events have been explored only partially by two books – Meyer Weiberg's *TV in America: The Morality of Hard Cash* (1962) and Dent Anderson's *Television Fraud: The History and Implications of the Quiz Show Scandals* (1978) – and by various published articles. This 349 page inside look provides an exhaustive day-by-day detailed re-creation of every deposition and the compromised interrelations among principals in those wildly popular shows. This whodunit, chronicles potential legal wrongdoing and ultimately "widespread systematic deceit" and organized perjury by dozens of otherwise respectable citizens.

The meticulous chronological analysis offers a veritable manual of investigative procedures and conjectural processes as the D.A. gradually unravels the tangled web of greed naivete, pride, shame, revenge, deceit, and misplaced loyalties between former contestants and mentor-producers. The first-person clinical account details points of law and the mechanics of quiz programs. The case raised potential charges of conspiracy, larceny, commercial bribery, extortion, obstruction of justice, and (in the case of producers and their lawyers) widespread subordination of perjury by inducing grand jury witnesses to lie under oath. But absent specific law at that time governing deceit in broadcast matter, only the perjury charge stuck.

The D.A. office's laborious inquiries from 1958 to 1960, plus grand jury and Congressional subcommittee hearings resulted in twenty contestants receiving lesser charges of misdemeanors, with all sentences suspended without probation. But those gaining most from the highly successful 1955-1958 network quiz programs – producers, advertisers and their agencies, networks, and lawyers – were left almost untouched by the legal system.

The Justice Department and FCC considered licensing networks (as they did stations) and recommended rotating public service programs among networks. Others called for federal funding of an alternative non-commercial public program service. Findings eventually led to the first federal laws enacted against false and deceptive broadcasting, including rigging quiz programs as well as advertising "plugola" and recorded music "payola." The threat of government intervention into programming and network operations prompted broadcast executives to increase the number of "quality" evening programs and to reassert control over program content even when provided by outside producers; they established standards and practices units to oversee beefed-up procedures and guidelines. Sole sponsors' control of programs gave way to multiple advertisers sharing costs of each show through participating spot announcements. The top quiz shows of course were abandoned; but they gradually revived in later years as game shows distributed through syndication and eventually returned in lesser roles in network schedules.

Technically there were no victims of the fraudulent quiz practices. But the American public had been duped into high excitement over the dramatic fortune of common persons and celebrities such as scholar Charles Van Doren who were seen as engaged in truly challenging contests of skill and intelligence. The revelation that they had been coached so producers could control the outcome of each night's quiz to build audience ratings, ruptured the public's sense of trust and its confidence in the integrity of broadcast media. Van Doren and others repeatedly deceived their peers, the viewing public, the press, the networks, the N.T. District Attorney's office, and the grand jury – until they finally recanted under pressure. Deceptive practices in the TV industry cast an ugly reflection on "the state of the American soul and loss of innocence" (271) in the period leading to a decade of TV-mediated assassinations, civil rights struggles, and the Vietnam quagmire.

While the highly specific details at times become tedious and confusing, they document the record of this episode in American life which the authors compare with the public perception and impact of the Watergate and Iran-Contra scandals of later decades. Sketched in the first and final chapters is the larger picture: implications when forces of government and American society were swept up into seemingly trivial TV quiz show aberrations.

The writing is lucid. The authors' account is supported by seven pages of endnotes, a two-page bibliography, and a nine-page index.

James A. Brown, University of Alabama

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John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, ***The Magazine in America, 1741-1990.*** Oxford University Press, 1991. 448 pp. Cloth, $35.

Magazines in the United States celebrated 250 years of existence in 1991. "Although books and newspapers are older still," the authors write," they do not surpass periodicals in their influence on life in this country. Numerically, magazines outnumber all the other media, and in the tremendous breadth of their specialization, they reach into the smallest segments of American life."

The Magazine in America builds on the sturdy foundation provided by Frank Luther Mott's four-volume *A History of Magazines in America* while viewing "his work through the eyes of later research and the perspectives provided by recent social and cultural historians." Sources include scholarly research, newspaper articles, and the trade press. More than half the book deals with the period after 1918, with chapters on such topics as magazine photojournalism, alternative magazines, changing concepts in women's magazines, developing male audiences, the business press, and pulps and science fiction.

The authors' analysis is sound and readable (except for calling Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald "the Scott Fitzgeralds," the sexism of which jars). Magazines' importance as social and cultural influences both editorially and through advertising, is well supported. One wishes, however, that the scholarly apparatus of footnotes had been included. At least there is a substantial bibliography. If you're looking for a good one-volume survey of U.S. magazine history, this is the book to get.

Nancy L. Roberts, University of Minnesota

Keyan Tomaselli, Ruth Tomaselli, and Johan Muller, eds., ***The Press in South Africa.*** New York: St. Martin's Press Inc., 1989. 258 pp.

Keyan Tomaselli, Ruth Tomaselli, and Johan Muller, eds., ***Broadcasting in South Africa.*** New York: St Martin's Press Inc., 1989. 227 pp.

Keyan Tomaselli, ***The Cinema of Apartheid: Race and Class in South African Film.*** New York: Smyrna/Lake View Press, 1988. 300 pp.

Much has changed since Tomaselli *et al* completed research in the 1980s for their ambitiously theoretical analysis of South African media -- the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990, the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress, white voters' overwhelming endorsement of President de Klerk's commitment to negotiating a new constitution, the beginning of negotiations between the government and the ANC, the murders at Boipatong, and the ANC's campaign for mass action in August 1992. In anticipation of a new South Africa, press leaders have defined an equivalent of the First Amendment to protect a free and independent press that they want included in a new constitution. At the same time, the ANC and COSATU, the confederation of black unions, are working to produce a daily newspaper.

Will the new South Africa enjoy free and independent media? Or will the ANC-COSATU newspaper express in its ownership and approach the media ideology of the new South Africa? These questions are provoked by the preoccupation over the years of journalists and scholars with the nature and extent of the freedom and independence of South Africa's media.

For example, South African editor Morris Broughton wrote (*Press and Politics of South Africa*, Purnell & Sons, 1961):

> The ethical and actual value of the freedom of the press has been vitiated. It is neither common to nor accepted as a fundamental principle binding upon the whole community . . .It [the press] stands for non-partisanship but is, in fact, politically partisan.

British journalist Douglas Brown saw the press as free but not independent (*Against the World: Attitudes of White South Africa*, Doubleday, 1966):

> It is true that they [newspapers] provide a woefully incomplete picture of he sad, gay life of the native townships and locations, but considered as house magazines of the white managerial class they are unrivaled for interest and variety.

Political scientist Elaine Potter argued (*The Press as Opposition: The Political Role of South African Newspapers*, Chatto & Windus, 1975):

> Two quite different types of mass communication structures developed in South Africa after 1948: on the one hand there was [the Afrikaans-language] press which was a co-ordinated agency of a centralized party and Government, and part of the

> Government's extensive communication network; on the other hand, there was [the English-language] Press which was independent of Government and which as a matter of general principle believed its Independence to be a necessary prerequisite for its functioning.

For Tomaselli *et al* libertarian notions of "partnership," "freedom" and "independence" are too puny for analyzing South Africa's media. Although they admire Potter's analysis, they criticize her exclusion of the black-oriented press. To achieve more penetrating analysis, therefore, they seek in their three volumes to apply the perspectives of four major strands in social theory: French structuralist and post-structuralist Marxist theories of ideology, socialist-humanist cultural studies, Antonio Gramsci's insights into issues of culture and hegemony, and new theories of language and signification. Readers with marginal theoretical literacy alarmed at the prospect of an impenetrable polemic should take heart. Mercifully the authors seek also to apply these theories empirically, providing helpful historical narrative and a range of case studies.

As a corrective to other writers' preoccupation with freedom and independence as key concepts for understanding the role of the media in South Africa, Tomaselli *et al* place allowable dissent in South Africa in this context;

> The importance of dissent should not be minimized. Nor should it mislead anyone into uncritical acceptance of the rhetoric that the freedom of the press', and the opportunity for expression provides a channel for the articulation of alternative viewpoints which have the potential of seriously challenging the existing social and political system.

In the "real economic and political context" of a society, they write, "the free expression of ideas and opinions *mainly* means the free expression of ideas and opinions which are helpful or at least not harmful to the prevailing system of power and privilege." They argue that South Africa's social order is one of racial capitalism ruled by a hegemonic alliance that transcends the conflicts between English and Afrikaans speaking South Africans so important in the commentary of Broughton and Brown, an alliance that strives also to include both the black and white middle classes. Potter was not concerned with the role of the press as determined by its relations with governmental structures and the political public, "those members of society who are, through their membership of particular institutions, in a position to have effect on political policies." By contrast, Tomaselli *et al* are concerned to show how South African media as agents for the capitalist classes "create the cultural conditions for a new consent to the re-arranged hegemonic alliance." Through their representations of the world, they argue, the media shape the culture and discourse that determines meaning in society, not just for the political but also for the mass public.

Their approach is most potent. In their first volume, *The Press In South Africa*, mainly because the dissent allowed the privately owned press is greater than that allowed the state-controlled broadcasting system and the film industry constrained since 1963 by the Publications and Entertainments Act. The comparative freedom of the press therefore tests the persuasiveness of their perception of South Africa as a social order ruled by a hegemonic capitalist alliance. They demonstrate quite convincingly that, at least through the late

1980s, by concentrating on events, many of them appalling in their revelation of the evils of apartheid, and by ignoring the structural processes and causes underlying events, the press has maintained a consensual discourse that has largely confined the nature and range of dissent. In effect, the authors have transformed Brown's witticism that newspapers are the house magazines of the white managerial class into meaningful analysis of familiar material.

In *Broadcasting in South Africa*, Tomaselli *et al* consider less familiar material. Commentary and scholarship on broadcasting in South Africa have been thinner than work on the press, partly because of the comparative recency of South Africa's broadcasting system. Newspapers began in South Africa in 1823. A century later, in 1924, three independent commercial stations began radio broadcasting. In 1936 the Broadcasting Act established the South African began only in 1976. The authors provide a theoretical and critical perspective on this short history of private then state control. Despite the efforts of a few SABC programmers to evade control and to give South Africans a glimpse of a world the government would prefer they do not see, the authors show that both in news and entertainment, particularly in soap operas, these glimmers don't significantly challenge the values of the social order.

Nor, according to Deyan Tomaselli, does the content of South Africa's private film industry, even though state control is not as overt as in broadcasting. In *The Cinema of Apartheid*, a comprehensive analysis that shows the expertise of a scholar who has probably written more on this industry than anyone else, he argues that the state has used the censorship of locally produced films permitted by the 1963 act and a system of state subsidy since 1956, including subsidies for films for blacks, to reinforce the cultural meaning and s=discourse that other media survey. Moreover, films for blacks, he says, spring mainly from white entrepreneurs' desire to expand from the white market into the huge, relatively unexploited market without disturbing the social order. He portrays an industry of numbing mediocrity. Yet, he notes a growing progressive film and video movement at the grassroots level that has some promise of contributing to a free and democratic society.

Even though change toward a new South Africa has accelerated since Keyan Tomaselli, Ruth Tomaselli, and Hohan Muller published these volumes, they wrote in a climate of mounting protest. At the start they argued that theories of ideology, particularly the concept of hegemony, are far more powerful than orthodox libertarianism for analyzing media in a time of struggle and change. Their fine work substantiates their claim. Yet and undercurrent of determinism in their mainly Marxist theories begins to grate a little. "Like Alice's experiences in Wonderland," writes Keyan Tomaselli, "everything in South Africa constantly changes, but nothing is different." The libertarian impulse to consider the possibility of change, at least as measured by the concepts of freedom and independence, places a heavy burden on verifiable fact. Certainly there's a glibness to these terms, and in *The Cinema of Apartheid*, Keyan Tomaselli raises valuable definitional issues about the meaning of "independent" and "oppositional." But powerful though theories of ideology and hegemony are as tools for analysis, understanding comes finally from inquiry into the substance and subtleties of one of the world's more complex societies. The bent of this reader is in that empirical direction, and his pleasure in these volumes comes from the power of theory working on historical and contemporary data to open up ways of seeing and knowing familiar facts anew.

Trevor Brown, Indiana University

Vance H. Trimble, ***The Astonishing Mr. Scripps.*** Iowa State University Press, 1992. 592 pp. Cloth, $39.95.

Edward Wyllis Scripps has always been one of my journalistic heroes – one of the big four of the turn of the century one hundred years ago: Pulitzer, Scripps, the younger Hearst, and Ochs. A favorite examination question was to rank the four in terms of their newspapers' contributions to progressive democracy. A case could be argued for each of the four depending on perceptions of the consistency, earnestness, and ethical qualities of their journalism. Since each was a mixture of pragmatism and idealism, the verdict of history is debatable.

Scripps has had the least biographical dissection of the four. The best portrait, despite its briefness, has been Oliver Knight's *I Protest: The Selected Disquisitions of E.W. Scripps* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1966). Now comes Vance H. Trimble, a Pulitzer Prize winning reporter and author of the current best-selling biography *Sam Walton,* offering a fullscale biography bursting with color and anecdotes but painstakingly complete in details of business, family, and personal life. The money problems of the struggling *Cleveland Post* are recorded to the penny. And the incessant wranglings of Scripps family members in 1880 are traced until the 1920s. They were the tragedy of the Scripps empire.

You will learn other things: how Scripps family members and newspaper executives pulled every string to keep E.W.'s sons Bob and Jim out of the World War I draft (Bob eventually volunteered to avoid being called a "slacker," the epithet of that day), how the bumpkin Illinois farmboy dazzled Detroit journalism, living a life of women and whiskey before marrying the minister's choir-singing daughter, or whether or not Scripps drank a gallon of whiskey a day at his ranch, Miramar.

New in this book is a detailed account of Scripps' final weeks aboard his yacht "Ohio." With his doctor and nurse at hand, Trimble relates a' minute-by-minute account of Scripps' collapse and death, and his burial at sea off the Liberian coast in 1926 (his attendants and the crew all recorded what they knew of these last days, for legal reasons). Here Trimble's matter-of-fact, if sometimes repulsive, writing grips your attention.

Scripps on the one hand was a philosopher writing disquisitions about politics, science, economics (a subject best covered by Knight). On the other, he was a penny-pinching capitalist newspaper owner who used his profits to campaign on the side of the common man. His role as a "people's champion" was summed up with these words: "The first of my principles is that I have constituted myself the advocate of that large majority of people who are not so rich in world goods and native intelligence as to make them equal, man to man, in the struggle with individuals of the wealthier and more intellectual class." He's worth reading about.

Edwin Emery, Emeritus, University of Minnesota

•

Bernell Tripp, ***Origins of the Black Press: New York 1827-1847.*** Vision Press, 1992. 103 pp. Paper, $9.95.

One of the first rules of journalism is don't make assumptions. Question facts. Bernell Tripp used that rule in a scholarly way to produce the

thesis for her book, *Origins of the Black Press.* The assumption was that the black press was formed to express opposition to slavery. Tripp uses the text of early newspapers to show the greater emphases were self-expression, self-improvement, and other goals.

Tripp's study goes beyond determining the missions of early newspapers. She broadens three other important lines of inquiry for researchers. One is the subject matter of the black press, not just its mission. The early press is noted for its fiery messages, but scholars have long noted other tomes present. There is the success story of Captain Paul Cuffee, a fisherman, in the first issue of the first African American newspaper, *Freedom's Journal.*

The author examines other types of messages in the early pages. She delineates Samuel Cornish's advice for elevation of the race expressed in the columns of the *Colored American,* and presents portions of an essay lampooning the errors of free blacks in *Ram's Horn.* Her study, then, expands the literature on content in the early black press.

Second, she furthers the study of editors and publishers of the early press. Tripp's work focuses on Frederick Douglas' *North Star,* as well as *The Ram's Horn* published by Willis A. Hodges, the *Colored American* founded by Phillip A. Bell and originally named the *Weekly Advocate.* Tripp also examined *Freedom's Journal* published by John Russwurn and Samuel Cornish.

The names are familiar to scholars of the press, as are some details on the backgrounds and habits of these men. (There were no women mentioned in the early black press). Tripp expands the body of knowledge on the early editors by looking more closely at their writings, and extant literature about them. She gives some sense of personalities, allies, points of disagreement and abilities of the early publishers and editors.

Finally, she adds to the literature on financial health of the newspapers. All were short-lived, primarily because of inadequate financial support. Tripp's work adds to the understanding of the economic environment in which the papers existed. Publishers scrambled for, but sometimes found, funds from other black entrepreneurs, they tempered some comments to survive hostility, they maintained links with like-minded citizens who contributed to the newspapers. Against great odds, they were a voice.

This book is not a great statement on the beginnings of the black press. At 103 pages it is a small bite designed to reexamine an important area of journalism history. The study is small, but necessary. The body of literature on newspapers produced by people of color in this nation is still small. A broad outline has been formed and Tripp's work is an important step in filling in the grid.

Karen F. Brown, The Poynter Institute for Media Studies

•

Maureen Turim, ***Flashbacks in Film: Memory and History.*** Routledge, 1989. 256 pp. Cloth, $45.00. Paper, $16.95.

This fascinating book approaches film history through the examination of the development of one narrative device, the flashback. In the course of that examination, Maureen Turim's study covers an impressive amount of ground, discussing films from the beginning of the century to the 1980s. Further evidence of the book's wide scope is that it deals not only with American works but examines European and Japanese films as well.

Turim is a professor of cinema and comparative literature at State University of New York-Binghamton, and that background makes for an intriguing inquiry into the relationship between film and other art forms. The best example of her approach is the book's first chapter, which places the appearance of the flashback in early films in the context of how the device was used in literature and drama of the era and even traces the origin in those art forms of the term itself.

Turim pursues the relationship of films to the society that produces them is pursued throughout the book, as she shows how use of flashbacks was influenced by evolving theories of memory and discussions of the subjective nature of history. Cultural and political events were also reflected in the development of the flashback device, such as the popularity of Sigmund Freud's theories in the German Weimar Republic and the drive to support the war effort in the United States during World War II. An advantage of the international perspective of *Flashbacks in Film* is that it makes it clear that European reactions to the motion-picture mass production pioneered by Hollywood studios was another decisive influence in the development of film narrative.

Detailed discussions of flashback usage in individual films fill Turim's book, and it is an indication of the thoroughness of her research, which supplements the films themselves with secondary sources both inside and outside the discipline of film studies. Her scholarship is particularly impressive in the book's first two chapters, which trace the development of the device during the first two decades of this century. Here, the author offers film historians the valuable caution not to treat the films preserved in archives as representative of the many films produced in that era but now lost forever, and she points to alternative sources to investigate the state of film technique at a given point in time, such as film-making manuals.

It is in its accounts of those early years and, somewhat paradoxically for an American author, in its treatment of foreign films that *Flashbacks in Film* is most interesting, mainly because Turim is able to show the evolution of the flashback technique in relation to developments outside the film medium itself. dealing with the Hollywood sound film era, a period when film making and its techniques had become more standardized, her discussion at times seems to drift toward readings of the film's plot rather than focusing on the role of the flashback in the narrative.

That, however, is a minor shortcoming of a study whose approach deserves to be followed by other film historians.

Jonas Bjork, Indiana University-Indianapolis

•

Joyce W. Warren, ***Fanny Fern: An Independent Woman.*** Rutgers University Press, 1992. 380 pp. Cloth, $29.95.

At last, there's a biography of Fanny Fern, probably the most widely read newspaperwoman in the nineteenth century. Margaret Fuller was well-known and respected in intellectual circles, and Nellie Bly was famous for going around the world in seventy-two days, six hours and eleven minutes. But it's Fanny Fern (Sara Parton) whom Americans read in the nineteenth century.

Fern wrote bright, witty columns satirizing woman's lot and relationships between men and women. She was the Erma Bombeck of her day. A columnist for the *New York Ledger.* For seventeen years, she published two

novels, *Ruth Hall* and *Rose Clark*, plus five different collections of her newspaper columns.

Her first book *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Portfolio* in 1853 sold 70,000 copies in the United states and 29,000 copies in England. she received ten cents a copy. That's $10,000 for one year's worth of sales of this book alone. Despite her ubiquity in the nineteenth century, very little information has been available on Fanny Fern until this new biography.

The author has done extensive primary research. She read fern's voluminous output plus manuscript collections of letters by Fern; her husband, biographer James Parton; her brother, poet N.P. Willis; and many others. Warren has fashioned this mass of material into the first in-depth look at Fern's life. This achievement is even more impressive because the end product is also a very good read.

Unfortunately, this biography has serious flaws. The author teaches American literature, and the book shares the weaknesses of many histories generated by that field. The analysis depends almost exclusively on internal textual evidence. Many assertions about life in the nineteenth century cite as sources, works of fiction.

For her literature review, the author has drawn most heavily on literary criticism and has not read widely in American history. The marker of this is her use of the term "women's rights" when "woman's rights" is the accepted term for the nineteenth century struggle to gain the vote.

A footnote summarizes the literature on the Cult of True Womanhood, the nineteenth century dictum that allotted a separate sphere to men and women and that deemed woman's place to be in the home. Yet the author fails to include this concept in her analysis. For instance, the book quotes Fern as saying, "If there is any poetry in my nature, from my mother I inherited it" (6). taking this quotation at face value, the author concludes that Fern's mother was, indeed, a creative and poetic woman. She ignores the fact that the Cult of True Womanhood said all women should be creative and poetic, and that most people in the nineteenth century sentimentalized their mothers as sweet and poetic.

The author makes much of the excessive religiosity of Fern's father and her schools during the 1830s. Not mentioned is the Second Great Awakening, a powerful evangelical movement that swept the United States in the 1830s making excessive religiosity a very common trait.

The author typecasts the great educator Catherine Beecher as a preachy, overly religious schoolmarm. Unmentioned is the concept of domestic feminism which Beecher advocated. Beecher agreed that a woman's place was in the home but argued strongly for better conditions and more moral influence for these women at home. Fanny Fern attended Beecher's school. Fern's columns on women reveal ideas strikingly similar to those of her teacher, but the author does not note this similarity.

This then is not the definitive biography of Fanny Fern, but the book does make a major contribution to scholarship. At least, at last, there is a biography of Fanny Fern.

Catherine C. Mitchell, University of North Carolina-Asheville

Alan Williams, ***Republic of Images: A History of French Filmmaking.*** Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992. 458 pp. Cloth, $19.95.

A professor of French, Alan Williams has authored an interesting textbook, on the history of French film (beginning with the origins of the Cinematographe and ending with the foreshadowing of the dominance of video and television). Plainly written and direct in style, this book is eminently readable, indeed a pleasure to read (in good part because of its freedom from theoretical jargon, either from film or any other kind of "scholarship"). Its contents, however, are perhaps too simple rather than plain and veer toward indirection, unfounded leaps in logic, and too-broad generalizations in some arguments. In providing biographical profiles of significant filmmakers, Williams has a tendency to make superficial and sweeping psychoanalytic judgments for which he provides little evidence. In talking about the role of anti-Semitism during the Vichy regime, the author takes the debatable position that members of the French film industry, despite the establishment of a "professional identity card" requiring everyone working in cinema to provide proof that he/she was not a Jew, displayed virtue by passively, if not actively, resisting anti-Semitism. Williams explains that filmmakers provided economic support for Jewish colleagues out of work, and also that the industry did not provide negative portraits of Jews in its films as opposed to the radio and print journalism media. This conclusion is not supported by sufficient documentation, and the author's "justification" only serves to provide an uneasy echo of Hamlet's exhortation to his mother to mend her ways by at least displaying an assumed virtue.

In journalism history, the book touches, if only lightly, on the influence print media had on the development of the French film industry and on various film movements, and, in retrospect, on the study of film history. Although Williams does not treat the film medium's influence on society, he does comment on society's influence on the film community. He points out that most French filmmakers were born into the *petite bourgeoisie* and had been formally educated in the world view of this economic/social class, and that the film community was influenced by a subculture of the political Left and the *Parte Communiste Francais*. He discusses at length the fact that the *nouvelle vague* was, at least initially, a social and political movement (ballyhooed by the newspaper *L'Express*) calling for the enfranchisement of the younger generation and closely associated with De Gaulle's Fifth Republic, and that the "new wave" filmmakers (including, of course, the ex-critics of *Les Cashiers du Cinema* such as Francois Truffaut) were essentially looking to replace the older generation of filmmakers as well as mainstream cinema, *le cinema de papa*.

The book's title, *Republic of Images*, is a "political metaphor" for the French film industry and refers to the multiplicity of film movements within it (including such early ones as the "modernist independents," "cinematic impressionists," and "pictoralist naturalists"). In analyzing the careers of French filmmakers throughout the history of the industry (including members of the *nouvelle vague* such as Louis Malle, Claude Chabrol, and Francois Truffaut), Williams sets up a critical dichotomy between mainstream/commercial filmmaking and personal/artistic filmmaking, and concludes that most significant French filmmakers (Jean-Luc Godard being a significant exception) were successful in maintaining a balancing act between the two. Clearly,

Williams sees the French film industry as having the political and moral virtues of a true republic.

Barbara Odabashian
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(Continued from inside front cover)

Anyone who wishes to review books for *American Journalism* or propose a book for review should contact Professor Thomas Connery, Department of Journalism and Mass Communications, University of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn. 55105. He succeeds Professor Roberts as Book Review Editor beginning with Vol. 11, No. 1.

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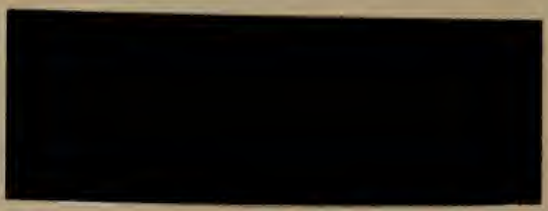
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